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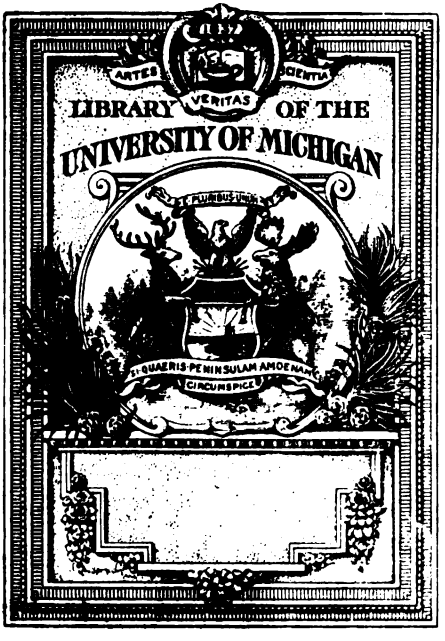
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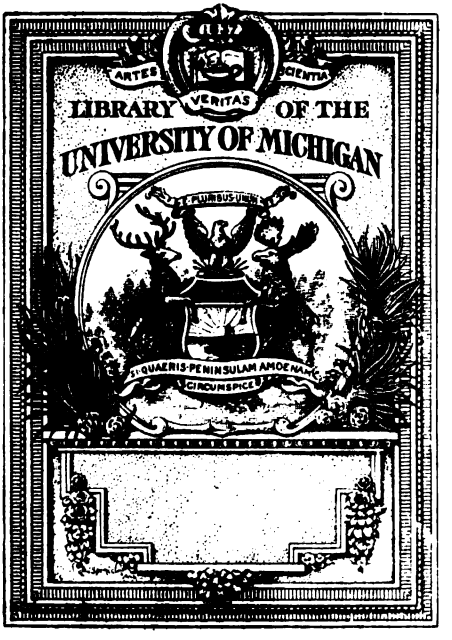
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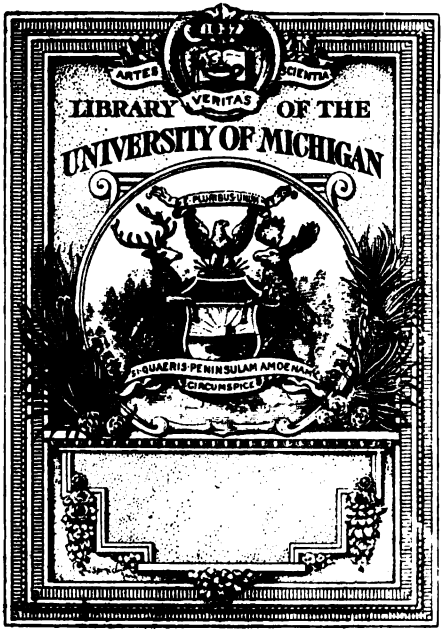
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THE

WESTMINSTER ASSEMBLY

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THE WESTMINSTER ASSEMBLY

ITS HISTORY AND STANDARDS

BEING

The Baird Lecture for 1882

BY

ALEXANDER F. MITCHELL, D.D.

PROFESSOR OF ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, ST. MARY'S COLLEGE, ST. ANDREWS

JOINT EDITOR OF 'MINUTES OF THE WESTMINSTER ASSEMBLY,' ETC.

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PREFATORY NOTE.

WHEN appointed Baird Lecturer for 1882, the Author chose as the subject of his Lectures, 'Epochs in the History of the Reformed Church of Scotland.' But the state of his health during 1881, and his desire to complete without delay his researches on the Westminster Assembly—a subject which had engaged his attention for some years, and on which he had previously given lectures on both sides of the Atlantic—led him to ask that he might be allowed to substitute that subject for the one first chosen, and to write additional lectures on it. To this the Trustees most kindly consented, and seven additional lectures were prepared, which with those previously written make up the present volume. His best thanks are due to the Trustees, as well for the indulgence they have shown him as for the kind aid they have promised to help forward the publication of the remainder of the Minutes of the Westminster Assembly. His thanks are also due to old friends at Cambridge, Oxford, and the British Museum for much kind aid in the pro-

Rec. 9-4-40

secution of his researches, as well as to a young friend in St. Andrews for revising the proof-sheets of this volume.

In the first three lectures the author has given a succinct account of English Puritanism from its origin to the meeting of the Westminster Assembly, and in the tenth lecture he has given a similar account of the history of doctrine in the British Churches during the same period. But throughout he has endeavoured to give prominence to aspects of the history which have hitherto been generally overlooked, and to treat more briefly of those which have been previously dwelt on. It goes without saying that while thankfully owning the good that has been done by the great men of other schools, he has strong sympathies with the worthies of the Puritan or Low Church School, which in the 16th and 17th centuries did so much for the revival of earnest religious life and the maintenance of evangelical doctrine, and which, notwithstanding later reverses, has continued to exercise a benign influence and to permeate with 'its own seriousness and purity' English society, literature, and politics.[1]

[1] 'The history of English progress since the Restoration, on its moral and spiritual sides, has been the history of Puritanism.'—*Green.*

EXCERPT *from* DEED OF TRUST *by* JAMES BAIRD, ESQ., *in favour of the Trustees of the* 'BAIRD TRUST.'

'Whereas, at the Meeting of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, held in May 1872, I declared my intention to found a Lectureship, to be called "The Baird Lecture," for the illustration and the defence of the vital truths hereinbefore referred to, as well as for the promotion of Christian knowledge and Christian work generally, and for the exposure and refutation of all error and unbelief, under which foundation the Very Reverend Robert Jamieson, D.D., lately Moderator of the General Assembly, was to be the first Lecturer, and that for the spring of the year 1873; Therefore, and for the endowment of the said Lectureship, I appoint my said Trustees to hold an annual sum of £220 out of the revenue of the funds under their charge for the purposes of said Lectureship; and I direct that the following shall be the conditions and terms on which my said Trustees shall carry out my foundation of said Lectureship:—

'1. The Lecturer shall be a minister of the foresaid Church of Scotland who shall have served the cure of a parish for not less than five years, or a minister of any other of the Scottish Presbyterian Churches who shall have served as pastor of a congregation for a similar period in his own Church; and in making the appointment, care shall be taken by the Trustees to choose a man of piety, ability, and learning, and who is approved and reputed sound in all the essentials of Christian truth, as set forth in the statement hereinbefore written of what is meant by sound religious principles.

'2. The Lecturer shall be appointed annually in the

month of April by my said Trustees, and the appointment shall be made at a meeting of the Trustees to be called for the purpose, and held in Glasgow.

'3. The Lecturer shall deliver a course of not less than Six Lectures on any subject of Theology, Christian Evidences, Christian Work, Christian Missions, Church Government, and Church Organisations, or on such subject relative thereto as the Trustees shall from year to year fix in concert with the Lecturer.

'4. The Lectures shall be duly advertised to the satisfaction of the Trustees, at the cost of the Lecturer, and shall be delivered publicly at any times during the months of January and February in each year, in Glasgow, and also, if required, in such other one of the Scottish University towns as may from time to time be appointed by the Trustees.

'5. The Lectures of each year shall be published, if possible, before the meeting of the next General Assembly, or at latest within six months of the date when the last of the course shall have been delivered. Such publication to be carried out at the sight and to the satisfaction of the Trustees, but by the Lecturer at his own cost and risk, and to the extent of not less than 750 copies, of which there shall be deposited, free, two copies in the Library of each of the Universities of Glasgow, Aberdeen, Edinburgh, and St. Andrews, two copies in the Library of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, and one copy in each of the Theological Libraries connected with the said Universities, and twenty copies shall be put at the disposal of the Trustees. The price of publication to be regulated by the Trustees in concert with the Lecturer.'

An ORDINANCE OF THE LORDS AND COMMONS *assembled in Parliament, for the calling of an Assembly of learned and godly Divines, and others, to be consulted with by the Parliament, for the settling of the Government and Liturgy of the Church of England, and for vindicating and clearing of the doctrine of the said Church from false aspersions and interpretations* (Passed June 12, 1643).

WHEREAS, amongst the infinite blessings of Almighty God upon this nation, none is or can be more dear unto us than the purity of our religion; and for that, as yet, many things remain in the Liturgy, Discipline, and Government of the Church, which do necessarily require a further and more perfect reformation than as yet hath been attained; and whereas it hath been declared and resolved by the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, that the present Church-government by archbishops, bishops, their chancellors, commissaries, deans, deans and chapters, archdeacons, and other ecclesiastical officers depending upon the hierarchy, is evil, and justly offensive and burdensome to the kingdom, a great impediment to reformation and growth of religion, and very prejudicial to the state and government of this kingdom; and that therefore they are resolved that the same shall be taken away, and that such a government shall be settled in the Church as may be most agreeable to God's holy word, and most apt to procure and preserve the peace of the Church at home, and nearer agreement with the Church of Scotland, and other Reformed Churches abroad; and, for the better effecting hereof, and for the vindicating and clearing of the doctrine of the Church of England from all false calumnies and aspersions, it is thought fit and necessary to call an Assembly of learned, godly, and judicious Divines, who, together with some members of both the Houses of Parliament, are to consult and advise of such matters and things, touching the premises, as shall be proposed unto them by both or either of the Houses of Parliament, and to give their advice and counsel therein to both or either of the said Houses, when, and as often as they shall be there-

unto required: Be it therefore ordained, by the Lords and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, That all and every the persons hereafter in this present Ordinance named, that is to say,—[*Here are inserted the names of the members, which are given on* p. xii. *et seq.*]

And such other person and persons as shall be nominated and appointed by both Houses of Parliament, or so many of them as shall not be letted by sickness, or other necessary impediment, shall meet and assemble, and are hereby required and enjoined, upon summons signed by the clerks of both Houses of Parliament, left at their several respective dwellings, to meet and assemble themselves at Westminster, in the Chapel called King Henry the VII.'s Chapel, on the first day of July, in the year of our Lord One thousand six hundred and forty-three; and after the first meeting, being at least of the number of forty, shall from time to time sit, and be removed from place to place; and also that the said Assembly shall be dissolved in such manner as by both Houses of Parliament shall be directed: and the said persons, or so many of them as shall be so assembled or sit, shall have power and authority, and are hereby likewise enjoined, from time to time during this present Parliament, or until further order be taken by both the said Houses, to confer and treat among themselves of such matters and things, touching and concerning the Liturgy, Discipline, and Government of the Church of England, or the vindicating and clearing of the doctrine of the same from all false aspersions and misconstructions, as shall be proposed unto them by both or either of the said Houses of Parliament, and no other; and to deliver their opinions and advices of, or touching the matters aforesaid, as shall be most agreeable to the word of God, to both or either of the said Houses, from time to time, in such manner and sort as by both or either of the said Houses of Parliament shall be required; and the same not to divulge, by printing, writing, or otherwise, without the consent of both or either House of Parliament. And be it further ordained by the authority aforesaid, That William Twisse, Doctor in Divinity, shall sit in the chair, as Prolocutor of the said Assembly; and if

he happen to die, or be letted by sickness, or other necessary impediment, then such other person to be appointed in his place as shall be agreed on by both the said Houses of Parliament: And in case any difference of opinion shall happen amongst the said persons so assembled, touching any the matters that shall be proposed to them as aforesaid, that then they shall represent the same, together with the reasons thereof, to both or either the said Houses respectively, to the end such further direction may be given therein as shall be requisite in that behalf. And be it further ordained by the authority aforesaid, That, for the charges and expenses of the said Divines, and every of them, in attending the said service, there shall be allowed unto every of them that shall so attend, during the time of their said attendance, and for ten days before and ten days after, the sum of four shillings for every day, at the charges of the Commonwealth, at such time, and in such manner as by both Houses of Parliament shall be appointed. And be it further ordained, That all and every the said Divines, so, as aforesaid, required and enjoined to meet and assemble, shall be freed and acquitted of and from every offence, forfeiture, penalty, loss, or damage, which shall or may arise or grow by reason of any non-residence or absence of them, or any of them, from his or their, or any of their church, churches, or cures, for or in respect of their said attendance upon the said service; any law or statute of non-residence, or other law or statute enjoining their attendance upon their respective ministries or charges, to the contrary thereof notwithstanding. And if any of the persons before named shall happen to die before the said Assembly shall be dissolved by order of both Houses of Parliament, then such other person or persons shall be nominated and placed in the room and stead of such person and persons so dying, as by both the said Houses shall be thought fit and agreed upon; and every such person or persons, so to be named, shall have the like power and authority, freedom and acquittal, to all intents and purposes, and also all such wages and allowances for the said service, during the time of his or their attendance, as to any other of the said persons in this Ordinance is by

this Ordinance limited and appointed. Provided always, That this Ordinance, or any thing therein contained, shall not give unto the persons aforesaid, or any of them, nor shall they in this Assembly assume to exercise any jurisdiction, power, or authority ecclesiastical whatsoever, or any other power than is herein particularly expressed.

LIST OF MEMBERS OF THE WESTMINSTER ASSEMBLY.[1]

In the order in which their names appear in the Ordinance calling the Assembly, or were subsequently added by the two Houses.

PEERS.

*Algernon, Earl of Northumberland.
William, Earl of Bedford.
*Philip, Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery.
*William, Earl of Salisbury.
Henry, Earl of Holland.
*Edward, Earl of Manchester.
*William, Lord Viscount Say and Seale.
Edward, Lord Viscount Conway.
*Philip, Lord Wharton.
*Edward, Lord Howard of Escrick.
Basil, Earl of Denbigh;
Oliver, Earl of Bolingbroke;
William, Lord Grey of Warke;
vice Bedford, Holland, and Conway.
**Robert, Earl of Essex, Lord General.*
**Robert, Earl of Warwick, Lord High Admiral.*

[1] An asterisk has been placed before the name of every one who has been found at any time to have attended the meetings, and of every one who is reported to have signed the protestation required to be taken by every member admitted to sit in the Assembly. The names of members added subsequently to the meeting of the Assembly are printed in *italics*, as are also the particulars about the original members which are not taken from the Ordinance. For convenience of reference I prefix a number to the name of each divine, and I append the same number to the name of each divine in the general Index to this volume, after the Roman numerals indicating the page of this list on which it is found.

MEMBERS OF HOUSE OF COMMONS.

*John Selden, Esq.
*Francis Rous, Esq.
*Edmund Prideaux, Esq.
*Sir Henry Vane, Knt., senior.
*John Glynn, Esq., Recorder of London.
*John White, Esq.
*Bouldstrode Whitlocke, Esq.
*Humphrey Salloway, Esq.
Mr. Serjeant Wild.
*Oliver St. John, Esq., His Majesty's Solicitor.
*Sir Benjamin Rudyard, Knt.
*John Pym, Esq.
*Sir John Clotworthy, Knt.
*John Maynard, Esq.
*Sir Henry Vane, Knt., junior.
William Pierpoint, Esq.
*William Wheeler, Esq.
*Sir Thomas Barrington, Knt.
Walter Young, Esq.
*Sir John Evelyn, Knt.
**Sir Robert Harley*, v. *Pym, deceased.*
**Sir William Massam, or Masson*, v. *Barrington, deceased.*
**William Stroud*, v. *White, deceased.*
**Sir Arthur Haselrig*, } *added along with Earl of Essex.*
Robert Reynolds, Esq., }
**Zouch Tate, Esq.*
**Sir Gilbert Gerard* (?).
**Sir Robert Pye* (?).
**Sir John Cooke.*
Nathaniel Fiennes (?).

DIVINES.

1. *Herbert Palmer, B.D., of Ashwell, *Herts*, *Assessor after* White, *and Master of Queen's College, Cambridge.*
2. *Oliver Bowles, B.D., of Sutton, *Bedford.*
3. *Henry Wilkinson, *sen.*, B.D., of Waddesdon, *Bucks*, *and St. Dunstan's in East.*
4. *Thomas Valentine, B.D., of Chalfont, St. Giles, *Bucks*, *aft. of London.*
5. *William Twisse, D.D., of Newbury, *Berks*, Prolocutor.
6. *William Raynor, *B.D.*, of Egham, *Surrey*, *aft. of St. John Baptist, London.*
7. *Hannibal Gammon, M.A., of Mawgan, *Cornwall.*
8. *Jasper or Gaspar Hickes, M.A., of Lanrake, *Cornwall.*
9. *Joshua Hoyle, D.D., of Dublin, *afterwards of Stepney, then Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford.*

10. *William Bridge, *M.A.*, of Yarmouth.
11. Thomas Wincop, D.D., of Ellesworth, *Cambridge.*
12. *Thomas Goodwin, B.D., of London, *aft. of Magdalen College, Oxford.*
13. *John Ley, *M.A.*, of Budworth, *Cheshire.*
14. *Thomas Case, *M.A.*, of *St. Mary Magdalene, Milk Street*, London.
15. John Pyne, of Bereferrers, *Devon.*
16. *Francis* Whidden, M.A., of Moreton-*Hampstead, Devon.*
17. Richard Love, D.D., of Ekington, *and of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.*
18. *William Gouge, D.D., of Blackfriars, London, *Assessor after Palmer.*
19. Ralph Brownerigg, D.D., Bishop of Exeter, *sent excuse for non-attendance.*
20. Samuel Ward, D.D., Master of Sidney Sussex College, *Cambridge.*
21. *John White, M.A., of Dorchester, *Assessor.*
22. *Edward Peale, of Compton, *Dorset.*
23. *Stephen Marshall, B.D., of Finchingfield, *Essex.*
24.* Obadiah Sedgewick, B.D., of Coggeshall, *or of Farnham, Essex.*
25. [John] Carter, M.A., *of York, after of Camberwell, or of St. Peter's, Norwich.*
26. *Peter Clerk, *M.A.*, of Carnaby, *afterwards of Kirkby, York.*
27. *William Mew, B.D., of Easington, *Gloucester.*
28. Richard Capell, *M.A.*, Pitchcombe, *Gloucester.*
29. *Theophilus Bathurst, *or Theodore Backhurst*, of Overton Watervile, *Wilts.*
30. *Philip Nye, *M.A.*, of Kimbolton, *Hunts.*
31. *Brocket (or Peter) Smith, D.D., of Barkway, *Herts.*
32. *Cornelius Burges, D.D., of Watford, *Herts, Assessor, aft. of St. Andrew's, Wells.*
33. *John Green, of Pencombe, *Hereford.*
34. *Stanley Gower, of Brampton Bryan, *Hereford, and St. Martin's, Ludgate.*
35. *Francis Taylor, *B.D.*, of Yalding, *Kent.*

36. *Thomas Wilson, *M.A.*, of Otham, *Kent.*
37. *Antony Tuckney, B.D., of Boston, *and St. Michael Quern, aft. Master successively of Emmanuel and St. John's, Cambridge, and Professor of Divinity after Arrowsmith.*
38. *Thomas Coleman, *M.A.*, of Blyton, *Lincoln, aft. of St. Peter's, Cornhill.*
39. *Charles Herle, *M.A.*, of Winwick, *Lancashire, Prolocutor after Dr. Twisse.*
40. *Richard Herrick, *or Heyrick, M.A., Warden of Christ's College*, Manchester, *conformed at Restoration.*
41. Richard Cleyton, *M.A.*, of Shawell, *Leicester, aft. Easton Magna, Essex.*
42. *George Gibbs, *or Gippes*, of Ayleston, *Leicester.*
43. Calibute Downing, LL.D., of Hackney, *Middlesex.*
44. *Jeremy Burroughes, *M.A.*, '*Morning Star*,' of Stepney.
45. *Edmund Calamy, B.D., *of St. Mary's, Aldermanbury*, London.
46. *George Walker, B.D., *of St. John's Evangelist, Watling Street*, London.
47. *Joseph Carrill, M.A., *Preacher at* Lincoln's Inn, *aft. of St. Magnus*, London.
48. *Lazarus Seaman, B.D., *of All Hallows, Bread Street, London, afterwards of Peter House, Cambridge.*
49. *John Harris, D.D., Warden of Winchester College, '*took Covenant and other oaths*,' *but retired.*
50. George Morley, *D.D.*, of Mildenhall, *Wilts, aft. Bishop of Winchester.*
51. *Edward Reynolds, *M.A.*, of Braunston, *Northampton, aft. D.D., Dean of Christ Church, Oxf., and Bishop of Norwich.*
52. *Thomas Hill, B.D., of Titchmarsh, *Northampton, aft. D.D. and Master of Trinity College, Cambridge.*
53. Robert Sanderson, D.D., of Boothby Pannell or Pagnell, *Lincoln, afterwards Bishop of Lincoln.*
54. *John Foxcroft, *M.A.*, of Gotham, *Notts.*
55. *John Jackson, M.A., of Marske, *Yorkshire, also preacher at Gray's Inn.*

56. *William Carter, of London.
57. *Thomas Thoroughgood, of Massingham, *Norfolk.*
58. *John Arrowsmith, *B.D.*, of King's Lynne, *Norfolk, afterwards Master successively* of *St. John's and Trinity, Cambridge, and Professor of Divinity.*
59. *Robert Harris, B.D., of Hanwell, *Oxford, aft. of Trinity College there.*
60. *Robert Crosse, B.D., of Lincoln College, *Oxford.*
61. James [Ussher], Archbishop of Armagh.
62. *Matthias Styles, D.D., of St. George's, Eastcheap, London.
63. *Samuel Gibson, of Burleigh, *Rutland.*
64. *Jeremiah Whitaker, M.A., of Stretton, *Rutland, afterwards of Bermondsey.*
65. *Edmund Stanton, D.D., of Kingston-on-Thames, *aft. President of Corpus Christi College, Oxford.*
66. *Daniel Featley, D.D., of Lambeth, '*Third and last Provost of Chelsea College.*'
67. Francis Coke, or Cooke, of Yoxhall, *Staffordshire.*
68. *John Lightfoot, *M.A.*, of Ashley, *Staffordshire, after D.D. and Master of Catherine Hall, Cambridge.*
69. *Edward Corbet, *M.A.*, of Merton College, Oxford, *and Rector of Chartham, Kent, succeeded Dr. Hammond as University Orator and Canon of Christ's Church, Oxon.*
70. Samuel Hildersham, *B.D.*, of *West* Felton, *Shropshire.*
71. *John Langley, *M.A.*, of West Tuderley, or *Tytherley, Hampshire.*
72. *Christopher Tisdale, or Tesdale, *M.A.*, of Uphurstborne, *or Hurstborne-Tarrant, Hampshire.*
73. *Thomas Young, *M.A.*, *St. And.*, of Stowmarket, *Suffolk, aft. D.D.*, and *Master of Jesus College, Cambridge.*
74. *John Phillips, of Wrentham, Suffolk, *brother-in-law of Dr. Ames.*
75. *Humphrey Chambers, B.D., of Claverton, *Somerset, aft. of Pewsey, Wilts.*
76. *John Conant, B.D., of Lymington, *Somerset, aft. of St. Stephen's, Walbrook.*

77. *Henry Hall, B.D., of Norwich.
78. Henry Hutton, *M.A., of Caldbeck, Cumberland, and Prebendary of Carlisle.*
79. *Henry Scudder, of Collingborne, *Wilts.*
80. *Thomas Baylie, *B.D.*, of Manningford-Bruce, *Wilts.*
81. *Benjamin Pickering, of East Hoateley, *or of Buckstead, Sussex.*
82. Henry Nye, of Clapham.
83. *Arthur Sallaway, *or Salway, M.A.*, of Seavern Stoke, *Worcester.*
84. *Sydrach Simpson, of London, *afterwards succeeded Vines in Pembroke Hall, Cambridge.*
85. *Antony Burgesse, *or Burges*, M.A., of Sutton Coldfield, *War., and St Lawrence, Jewry, London.*
86. *Richard Vines, *M.A.*, of Calcot, or *Weddington War., Master of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, aft. a minister in London.*
87. *William Greenhill, *M.A.*, '*Evening Star*,' of Stepney.
88. William Moreton, of Newcastle.
89. Richard Buckley, *or Bulkley, B.D.*
90. *Thomas Temple, D.D., of Battersea, Surrey.
91. *Simeon Ashe, of St. Bride's, *afterwards of St. Michael's, Basingshaw, appointed in room of Josiah Shute, who died before Assembly met.*
92. William Nicholson, *M.A., Archdeacon of Brecknock.*
93. *Thomas Gattaker, B.D., of Rotherhithe, *Surrey*, '*vir stupendæ lectionis magnique judicii.*'
94. *James Weldy, *or Welby*, of Selattyn, *Shropshire.*
95. Christopher Pashley, D.D., of Hawarden, *Flintshire.*
96. *Henry Tozer, B.D., *Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford.*
97. *William Spurstow, D.D., of Hampden, Bucks, *then of Catharine Hall, Cambridge, afterwards of Hackney.*
98. *Francis Cheynell, or Channell, of Oxford, *aft. Master of St. John's, D.D., and Margaret Professor of Divinity.*
99. Edward Ellis, B.D., of Guilsfield, *Montgomery.*
100. John Hacket, D.D., of St. Andrew's, Holborne, *aft. Bishop of Lichfield.*

101. *Samuel De la Place, } *of French Ch.,*
102. *John De la March, } *London.*
103. *Matthew Newcomen, *M.A.*, of Dedham, *Essex.*
104. William Lyford, *B.D.*, of Sherborne, Dorset.
105. *[Thomas] Carter, M.A., of Dynton, Bucks, *aft. of St. Olave's, Hart Street.*
106. *William Lance, of Harrow, Middlesex.
107. *Thomas Hodges, *B.D.*, of Kensington, *afterwards Dean of Hereford.*
108. *Andreas Perne, *M.A.*, of Wilby, Northampton.
109. *Thomas Westfield, D.D., of St. Bartholomew the Great, Bishop of Bristol, *attended the first meeting.*
110. Henry Hammond, D.D., of Penshurst, Kent, *and Canon of Christ's Church.*
111. *Nicholas Prophet, *or Proffet*, of Marlborough, Wilts, *aft. of Edmonton.*
112. *Peter Sterry, *B.D.*, of London.
113. John Erle, *D.D.*, of Bishopton, Wilts, *afterwards Bishop of Worcester, then of Salisbury.*
114. *John Gibbon, or Guibon, *M.A.*, of Waltham.
115. *Henry Painter, B.D., of Exeter.
116. *Thomas Micklethwaite, M.A., of Cherry-Burton, *Yorkshire.*
117. *John Wincop, D.D., of St. Martin's in the Fields, *and Clothall, Herts.*
118. *William Price, *B.D.*, St. Paul's, Covent Garden, and of *Waltham Abbey.*
119. Henry Wilkinson, jun., B.D., Epping, Essex, *afterwards D.D., and of Magdalen Hall, Oxford.*
120. Richard Holdsworth, or Oldsworth, D.D., Master of Emmanuel College, Cambridge.
121. William Dunning, M.A., of Cold Aston, *Glouc.*, or *Godalston, Notts.*
122. **Francis Woodcock, B.A.*, of *St. Lawrence, Jewry*, v. *Moreton, of Newcastle, deceased.*
123. **John Maynard, M.A., of Mayfield, Surrey*, v. *H. Nye, deceased.*
124. *Thomas Clendon, of All Hallows, Barking*, v. *Nicholson, who failed to attend.*

125. **Daniel Cawdrey, M.A., St. Martin's in Fields,* v. *Dr. Harris, of Winchester, excused attending.*
126. **William Rathbone, or Rathband, of Highgate,* v. *Morley, who failed to attend.*
127. **John Strickland, of New Sarum,* v. *Dr. Ward, deceased,* 14 *Sept.* 1643.
128. **William Good, B.D., of Denton, Norfolk.*
129. *John Bond, D.C.L., Master of the Savoy,* v. *Archbishop Ussher, who, however, was restored in* 1647.
130. **Humphrey Hardwick, of Hadham Magna, Herts.*
131. **John Ward, of Ipswich and of Brampton,* v. *Painter, deceased.*
132. **Edward Corbet, of Norfolk, or North Reppis, Norfolk,* v. *H. Hall, of Norwich.*
133. **Philip Delmé, or Delmy, of French Church, Canterbury,* v. *Rathbone, deceased.*
134. **Thomas Ford, M.A., of St. Faith's, London,* v. *Bowles, deceased.*
135.* *Richard Byfield, of Long Ditton, Surrey,* v. *Dr. Featley, deceased.*
136. **John Dury, or Durie,* v. *Dr. Downing, deceased, probably because of his well-known efforts to promote union among Protestants.*
137. **William Strong, preacher in Westminster Abbey,* v. *Peale, deceased.*
138. **Robert Johnston, of York,* v. *Carter, deceased.*
139. *Samuel Boulton, of St. Saviour's, Southwark, afterwards D.D., and Master of Christ's College, Cambridge,* v. *Burroughes, deceased.*

SCRIBES OR CLERKS OF THE ASSEMBLY.

Henry Roborough, *of St. Leonard's, Eastcheap, London.*
Adoniram Byfield, M.A., *afterwards of Fulham.*

Amanuensis or Assistant.

John Wallis, M.A., *Fellow of Queen's Coll., Cam., afterwards D.D., Savilian Professor of Geometry, Oxford.*

SCOTTISH COMMISSIONERS.

MINISTERS.

Alexander Henderson, of Edinburgh.
Robert Douglas, of Edinr. [*never sat*].
Samuel Rutherfurd, of St. Andrews.
Robert Baillie, of Glasgow.
George Gillespie, of Edinburgh.
Robert Blair, of St. Andrews [see p. 442].

ELDERS.

John, Earl of Cassilis [*never sat*].
John, Lord Maitland, *after Earl of Lauderdale.*
Sir Archibald Johnston, of Warriston.
Robert Meldrum, in absence of Johnston.
John, Earl of Loudon.
Sir Charles Erskine.
John, Lord Balmerino, v. *Loudon.*
Archibald, Marquis of Argyll.
George Winrham, of Libberton, v. *Argyll.*

Admitted to sit and hear in October 1644, *the Prince Elector Palatine*, and on one occasion permitted to speak.[1]

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[1] I have found no positive evidence that Messrs. C. Love, Moore, and Newscore should be included among the superadded divines. Nor, though I have allowed Dr. Manton's name to stand on p. 124, have I found evidence that he should be included among them; but I find that he was named along with Calamy and Marshall in 1659-60 to advise with the Committee of the House of Commons respecting the Confession, and that he wrote a prefatory epistle to it.

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CORRIGENDA.

P. 27, note '1551'; perhaps '1555.'

P. 52, l. 2, delete 'secretly.'

P. 95, l. 16, delete the inverted commas.

P. 124, ll. 1, 2, 3, see p. xx., footnote.

P. 142, l. 8 of note, for 'two' read 'three.'

P. 236, l. 15, for 'a year' read 'six years.'

P. 275, l. 2, for 'they' read 'some.'

P. 286, l. 3 of note, for 'censura' read 'censuræ.'

P. 324, l. 14, for 'did' read 'had done.'

P. 335, l. 10 from foot, for 'Würtemberg Confessions,' read 'other German Confessions.'

P. 412, l. 8, for 'on' read 'in.'

P. 424, ll. 19, 20, for 'given answers' read 'answers given.'

P. 456, l. 20, after 'was' insert '. . .'

N.B.—Many of the quotations from the 'King's Pamphlets' in the British Museum are accompanied by the press-mark of the volume quoted, as E 56, E 61, and often also the place of a particular pamphlet in a volume is indicated by a second number, as E. 85, No. 20.

THE WESTMINSTER ASSEMBLY
ITS HISTORY AND STANDARDS.

LECTURE I.

ORIGIN OF PURITANISM, ITS DEVELOPMENT AND HISTORY UNDER THE EARLIER TUDOR SOVEREIGNS.

THE Westminster Assembly, if it does not form a landmark in the history of our common Protestantism, must at least be admitted to constitute an epoch, and a notable one, in the history of British Puritanism. There, for the first time, its long pent-up forces had something like free play given to them, and there were framed those standards, the influence of which in the development of Presbyterianism, in the New World as in the Old, has been no less potent than permanent. This Puritanism was no mere excrescence on the fair form of the Church of England, which might be removed without hazard of marring her symmetry, or lowering her vitality; far less was it any fungus

growth, endangering life or indicating decay. Neither was it, as it was at one time the fashion to assert, a mere over-sea fancy which had taken captive a few grateful exiles when abroad, and was spread among not a few restless adventurers and brain-sick enthusiasts at home. It was in the English movement for the Reformation of the Mediæval Church from its very origin. It was the spring of many of its holiest activities, quickening earnest thought and life, sustaining in Christian enterprise, and nerving for stern self-sacrifice; and 'for more than a century it exercised an influence such as no other party, civil or religious, has obtained at any period of our history.'[1] It finds unmistakeable expression in the writings of Tyndale, who first in the sixteenth century gave to British Christians the New Testament in their native tongue. Nay, its root ideas may be traced back to a greater than Tyndale,—to England's one Reformer before the Reformation,[2]—the great and dauntless Wyclif, of whom it has been truly

[1] Marsden's *Early Puritans*, p. 3. See Appendix, Note A.

[2] 'The former (Puritanism) may be fairly dated as a system from the days of Wyclif.'—Thorold Rogers in *Princeton Review*. 'If the Reformation of our Church had been conducted by Wyclif, his work, in all probability, would nearly have anticipated the labours of Calvin; and the Protestantism of England might have pretty closely resembled the Protestantism of Geneva. There is a marvellous resemblance between the Reformer with his poor itinerant priests and at least the better part of the Puritans.'—Le Bas' *Life of Wyclif*, pp. 365, 366.

said, his country could produce no Luther in the sixteenth century, simply because it had had its Luther already in the fourteenth. In other words, the thing is older than the name.

The names Puritan and Precisian are supposed to have been originally nicknames, applied by way of reproach to those they were used to designate, because they claimed to adhere more purely and precisely than their neighbours to the Word of God as the only authoritative and sufficient rule in matters of doctrine, worship, church polity, and Christian life. This was no empty claim on their part, but one which, notwithstanding many shortcomings and much remaining narrowness, they honestly and earnestly endeavoured to make good. They were not ashamed of the names imposed on them. They took them meekly, and bore them worthily, and I trust their descendants will never feel ashamed either of the names or of the men who did so much to make them honourable. The points of difference between the Puritans and those who fall to be distinguished from them in the Reformed Church of England seem at first to have been few in number, and of minor importance, partly, perhaps, because the full significance of the principle on which these depended was not yet clearly apprehended by themselves; but much more because, to a certain extent, that principle

was then accepted by almost all leal-hearted supporters of the Reformation. So far as concerned doctrine, the principle in fact may be said to have been embodied in the Sixth Article of the English Church: 'Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation, so that *whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man that it should be believed as an article of the faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation.*' They and their opponents at that time were at one as to the sufficiency and supremacy of Holy Scripture in matters of faith, and even as to the general import of its doctrinal teaching. Almost all who really valued the Reformation in England held as yet by the evangelical system taught in early times by Augustine, and in later by Anselm, Bradwardine, and Wyclif. It was the Anglo-Catholic party which, as it developed, first broke up the doctrinal harmony of the Reformed Church, and drifted farther and farther from the standpoint of its early leaders, till the Supralapsarianism of Whitgift passed into the minimised Augustinianism of Hooker, and that into the Arminianism of Laud, and the semi-Pelagianism of Jeremy Taylor. So far again as concerned matters of worship and church polity, the only expression at variance with the principle of Puritanism in the Articles of the Church was the first clause of the XXth

Article, asserting the power of the Church to decree rites and ceremonies. This clause was not contained in the corresponding Article as framed in the time of Edward VI.; and they strenuously contended it had been foisted in somewhat inconsiderately in the time of Queen Elizabeth.[1] They further contended that, when viewed in connection with the limiting clause that followed, it was insufficient to justify what they condemned and renounced. The rites and ceremonies at which they scrupled were not, they held, things purely indifferent, which the Church, under such a clause, might claim to enjoin, but things unlawful as having been abused to purposes of idolatry and superstition, and therefore to be laid aside as contrary to the spirit if not to the letter of Holy Writ. In this respect too the agreement between them and those who stood aloof from them, was greater in early than in later times. Many of the first Elizabethan bishops agreed with them, and would willingly have abandoned the obnoxious ceremonies if the queen would have consented.[2]

[1] Some of them attributed it to Laud, but wrongly, as he did its omission to them. It is found in the Latin edition of 1563, but not in that of 1571, nor in the first English edition of 1563, nor in that of 1571. Lamb, Cardwell, and Hallam doubt if it was authorised by Convocation or by Parliament.

[2] *Zurich Letters, passim.* In the doctrinal declaration issued by them in 1559, the subscriber is required to disallow all 'vain worshipping of God devised by man's phantasy, BESIDES or contrary to the Scriptures.'

Indeed, for more than a century there were not wanting great and good men, free from all taint of Puritanism, who contended that, if only the authorities in Church and State could be persuaded to consent, all that the Puritans desired in regard to worship might be conceded without injury to religion or danger to the Church.[1]

Their assertion of the essential identity of bishops and presbyters in the apostolic church was also to a certain extent allowed; and while some contended for the reduction of the hierarchy to more primitive dimensions, others who defended it as lawful did so not on the ground of any supposed Divine sanction, but on the ground of antiquity, expediency, or the propriety of the Church adapting her external framework to the state of monarchies as well as of republics. It was not till the very close of the sixteenth century that higher ground was taken by the opponents of Puritanism on this point, and at first it was taken only by a few of them.

But it must never be forgotten that Puritanism was something more than a system of doctrine

[1] The celebrated John Hales of Eton, though neither Calvinist nor Precisian, did not hesitate to say 'prayer, confession, thanksgiving, reading of the Scriptures, and administration of the Sacraments in the plainest and simplest manner, were matter enough to furnish out a sufficient liturgy, though nothing either of private opinion or of Church pomp, of garments . . . or of many superfluities which creep into the Church under the name of order and decency did interpose itself.'—*Tract on Schism*, p. 5.

however scriptural, or a form of worship and church polity however primitive. It was above all, as Heppe has recently so well shown,[1] a life, a real, earnest, practical life,—a stream welling forth pure and copious from the deepest depths of their spiritual natures, and by its unfailing supplies stimulating and sustaining many forms of Christian activity and loving self-sacrifice—a fire kindled and kept alive from above, to purge, re-mould, and transform the soul, and so the whole man. It was

[1] *Geschichte des Pietismus*, etc., pp. 20, 21. Their idea was, 'Dass das Christenthum nothwendig Leben, und zwar ein ernstes, ganz und gar vom Worte Gottes beherrschtes und streng geregeltes Leben sein müsse, in welchem der Christ sich nicht gehen zu lassen sondern sich unablässig zu üben, sich in Zucht zu nehmen, sich selbst in Angesichte des Wortes Gottes zu prüfen und durch anhaltendes Gebet, durch Meditation, durch Fasten, überhaupt durch methodische und ascetische Uebung in der Gottseligkeit einer immer vollkommeneren Heiligung nachzustreben habe.' 'The distinctive feature of Puritanism was not to be found in its logical severity of doctrine or in its peculiar forms of worship, but in its clear conception of the immediate relation existing between every individual soul and its God, and in its firm persuasion that every man was intrusted with a work which he was bound to carry out for the benefit of his fellow-creatures. Under both these aspects it was pre-eminently the religion of men who were struggling for liberty. The Puritan was not his own. He belonged to God and to his country. The motives which urged other men to give way before the corruptions of despotism had no weight with him. The temptations which drew other men aside to make their liberty a cloak for licentiousness had no attractions for him. Under the watchwords of faith and duty our English liberties were won; and however much the outward forms of Puritanism may have fallen into decay, it is certain it is under the same watchwords alone that they will be preserved as a heritage to our children.'—*History of England from the Accession of James I.*, by S. R. Gardiner, vol. ii. pp. 487, 489. See also Appendix, Note A.

not till this wellspring of higher life was dried up, —not till the glowing fire within which the Spirit of God had kindled had died out, or died down, that Puritanism became rigid and repulsive, and lost its real power both over its own adherents and over the outside world. Let me enter a little more, though it can only be a little more, into details as to its origin and development.

I have told you that the principle of Puritanism —the principle which, in fully developed form, was to be enshrined in the xxth chapter of our Confession of Faith[1]—may be traced, at least in germ, in the writings of the noble man who, in the sixteenth century, followed most closely in the footsteps of Wyclif, and is now regarded by many as the true Reformer of his country. More sweetly persuasive, more powerfully constraining, than all the fitful edicts and articles of Henry VIII., and all the timid concessions of the cautious Cranmer, were the silent, gentle, holy influences proceeding from the lives, labours, and sufferings, from the teachings, oral and written, of the unofficial men who had given up all for Christ, and, notwithstanding the hazards they incurred, shunned not to declare the whole counsel of God. They strove to set it forth purely and fully by first of all

[1] 'God alone is Lord of the conscience, and hath left it free from the doctrines and commandments of men which are in anything contrary to His Word or *beside it in matters of faith and worship.*'

translating into their native tongue the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament. Foremost among these worthies stands William Tyndale, 'an apostle of our England,' as Foxe has termed him, and beyond question the chief instrument used by God in preparing for the Anglo-Saxon race that best of His gifts to it, our time-honoured English Bible, with its simple, racy yet majestic, and now venerable forms of speech.

Tyndale was born in Gloucestershire about 1484, was early sent to Oxford, where he distinguished himself in several liberal studies. He then removed to Cambridge, where he prosecuted the study of Greek under Erasmus. Soon after, he formed the resolution which it may be said to have been the one object of his life to carry out, viz., that if God should spare him he would cause the boy that driveth the plough to have more knowledge of the Scriptures than the priests of the Church then had.[1] At first he thought to attain his object through the aid and patronage of Tunstal, Bishop of London, whose learning and liberality Erasmus had so generously lauded. He found, however, by sad experience not only that there was no room for the translator of the New Testament 'in my Lord of London's palace,' but

[1] Demaus's *Life of William Tyndale;* also Biographical Notice prefixed to Parker Society's edition of his Doctrinal Treatises, by Professor Walter, pp. lxi, lxxiii, lxxv.

also that there was no safe retreat for him in all England. Even in his exile but little peace and safety fell to his lot. His steps were dogged by the emissaries of the king and the prelates, as well as by their foreign sycophants. The reformer's noble work was retarded and his life embittered by their hostile efforts. But in exile and poverty he laboured on even as he had done in England, 'studying most part of the day and night at his book, eating but sodden meat if he might have his will, and drinking small single beer;' largely dependent on the charities of Christian friends for the supply of his wants, yet reserving most of what they bestowed on him for the sick and poor, and commending himself to the English merchants at Antwerp, as to Scottish students at Marburg, by his singularly gentle and attractive life. Notwithstanding all difficulties and privations he faltered not in his sacred purpose till he had brought out several editions of his New Testament, had introduced it into Scotland as well as into England, and had got ready for the press a large portion of the Old Testament. In the weary months which he spent in the prison at Vilvorde, just before his trial and martyrdom, it has been supposed that, literally to carry out his cherished purpose, he prepared for the press an edition of the New Testament in the vulgar dialect, and with its spelling conformed to the rude pronunciation

of the ploughboys of his native district.[1] He perished at the stake on the 6th of October 1536, with the prayer on his lips, 'Lord, open the king of England's eyes.' And before another year had begun its course 'his prayer may be said to have been answered, for the first volume of Holy Scripture ever printed on English soil came forth from the press of the king's own printer—a folio Testament, of Tyndale's version, with his long-proscribed name on its title-page.' In the prefaces and prologues prefixed to his translation of the several books of the New Testament, as well as in the didactic and controversial treatises which he published separately, Tyndale maintained the sufficiency and authority of Holy Scripture in thorough Protestant and Puritan style, and defended the doctrines of grace against the semi-Pelagianism of Erasmus and Sir Thomas More, ere Calvin had yet entered the lists as the champion of the old Augustinianism. He asserted the Scriptural identity of presbyters and bishops, and the propriety of a simple Scriptural form of worship, and especially of that form of observing the Lord's Supper, which came to be identified with the Puritan name and with our Scottish Reformer.[2]

[1] So Professor Walter (p. lxxv.); but Demaus gives (p. 411) a different explanation of the peculiar spelling of that edition.

[2] Tyndale's treatise *Of the Supper of the Lord;* vol. iii. pp. 265, 266 of Parker Society's edition of his works: 'Come forth

Next to Tyndale falls to be placed Miles Coverdale, who followed so closely in his footsteps, labouring in the same great work, and sharing many of the same great trials and privations. Coverdale is supposed to have been a native of the North Riding of Yorkshire, and to have been born in 1488. He was educated at Cambridge, and formed one of the band of youthful reformers trained by Dr. Barnes, Prior of the Augustine Friars there. 'Nothing in the world,' he says in the first letter he wrote to Cromwell, 'I desire but books; these once had, I do not doubt but Almighty God shall perform that in me which he hath begun.' The books were got and God blessed the study of them, so that he became one of the earliest preachers of the new faith in Essex and Suffolk. In October 1535, he published the first edition of his translation of the whole Bible. It appears to have been printed abroad, probably at Zürich; but in 1537 it was republished in London. Though occasionally favoured by Cranmer and Cromwell, Coverdale had to hurry into exile when the bloody statute of the Six Articles was passed. He spent some time at Tübingen, and for several years he had to content himself with a very humble post in the Palatinate, and to endure pinching poverty, while by his writings he was making

reverently unto the Lord's table, the congregation now set round about it and in their other convenient seats.'

many rich. He was raised from the post of pastor and teacher at Bergzabern to the bishopric of Exeter by the good king Edward, and contributed largely to the progress of the Reformation in his brief reign. But he had to leave again on the accession of Mary, being rescued from prison and death only by the persistent intercession of the king of Denmark, to whom his brother-in-law—a Scot by name M'Alpin or Machabeus—was chaplain.[1] He did not disdain when again in exile to act as a humble elder in Knox's congregation at Geneva;[2] nor, though himself the author of an English version of the Scriptures, did he refuse to take a principal part in preparing and carrying through the press the well-known Genevan version of the Bible, which became so soon and remained so long the favourite one among the Puritans. On his return to his native country after the death of Mary he consented to take part in the consecration of the first Elizabethan archbishop of Canterbury, and was permitted to do so, without rochet or surplice, and in his plain black gown.[3] Yet for his nonconformity in regard to the habits, as they were termed, or for his connection with the Genevan exiles, he was left for four years

[1] Biographical Notice of Coverdale, prefixed to Parker Society's edition of his Remains, pp. vii.-xiv.

[2] *Livre des Anglois*, printed by J. S. Burn in 1831.

[3] See documents as to Parker's consecration in Burnet's *History of the Reformation;* No. 9: 'Toga lanea talari utebatur.'

without preferment, and within two years afterwards he had to give up the only preferment allotted to him—the humble benefice of St. Magnus, London Bridge. Thus the man who after Tyndale did most to perfect our Anglo-Saxon version of the Scriptures, when on the verge of eighty years of age, was consigned to neglect and penury—in such circumstances not less hard to bear than the prison and the stake at Vilvorde.

Hugh Latimer[1] and John Hooper were hardly less notable characters and bold confessors of the truth in days when it was dangerous to be so, than the two I have mentioned; and though they were both ultimately placed in high official stations, their influence tended decidedly in the same direction as that of Tyndale and Coverdale. No

[1] The following account of him by Alexander Alesius, written just after his cruel martyrdom, cannot fail even yet to interest us in him:—'He who has made the acquaintance of Dr. Latimer, Bishop of Worcester, has seen Polycarp—a venerable old man, gentle, grave, affable, learned, eloquent, the friend of the poor, dear to all the pious and learned, revered by myself. How often have I seen and heard him teaching the gospel before Henry VIII., the King of England, in the royal palaces at Westminster, Greenwich, and Hampton Court, with the greatest commendation and applause of the king, of the nobles of the realm, and of all ranks of the community. Who at that time was dearer to the king—and to all the nobility? Who then was not proud to shake hands with him? Who did not esteem it a great privilege to converse with him? And yet such was his humility and kindliness that at court, and in the streets of London, he would take me, an exile, by the arm and converse with me right pleasantly. I remember yet the things he then foretold me, and which events have since verified.' Psalm xxxvii. verses 1 and 2, in his *Primus Liber Psalmorum*.

one who reads the homely, racy, yet earnest sermons of the former, or the record of the theological discussion in which he took part at Oxford, will venture to identify him with Anglo-Catholicism in any shape or form. No one who studies the story of the latter can fail to own that if he was not, as Heylin affirms, the first Nonconformist in England, he was at least, as Principal Lorimer has recently shown, the father of that school of Moderate Puritans, who whether, as at first, under that name, or as in later times, under the name of Evangelicals or Low Churchmen, have clung to the Church of their fathers and made good their right to a place within her pale, emphasising her Protestant teaching,—striving in every possible way to foster her inner life, and her efficiency in every department of Christian work,—at times sympathising with the efforts made for further reform, and longing to draw closer the bonds between their own Church and the other churches of the Reformation. Early imbibing the principles of the Reformers, and obliged in consequence to flee from his native land, Hooper, after passing through many privations, found a refuge at Zürich. There he studied under Henry Bullinger,—Zwingli's successor,—who was honoured through him, and others, as well as more directly by his own writings, largely to aid the progress and determine the character of the

Reformation in England. He brought back with him to his native country, much of the earnest faith and liberal thought of his teacher. Immediate scope was found for his great powers as a preacher, and notwithstanding his advanced opinions, he was speedily promoted to high office, being installed in one bishopric, and appointed administrator of another. It ought to be more generally known than it yet is, that long before proscribed Papist or contemned Baptist had ventured to put in a plea for toleration, this noble-hearted Puritan Bishop had fully grasped its principle. In one of his earliest treatises he says: 'As touching the superior powers of the earth, it is well known to all them that have readen and marked the Scripture that it appertaineth nothing unto their office to make any law to govern the conscience of their subjects in religion.'[1] In one of the last letters written in the prison from which he passed to his martyrdom, and addressed to the Convocation then sitting, he gave still bolder utterance to his sentiments: 'Cogitate apud vos ipsos, an hoc sit piorum ministrorum ecclesiæ officium, vi, metu et pavore corda hominum in vestras partes compellere. *Profecto Christus non ignem, non gladium, non carceres, non vincula, non violentiam, non bonorum confiscationem, non reginæ majestatis terrorem media organa constituit quibus*

[1] *Early Writings of Bp. Hooper*, p. 280.

veritas verbi sui mundo promulgaretur; sed miti ac diligenti prædicatione evangelii sui mundum ab errore et idololatria converti præcepit.'[1] Moreover, he firmly asserted that in matters of faith no authority of princes or bishops was to be acknowledged 'citra verbum Dei,' and that 'ipsa universalis ecclesiæ auctoritas nulla est *nisi quatenus a verbo Dei pendeat.*'

In several other respects Hooper was in advance of his time. In opposing the Bishop of Winchester's book on the Sacrament of the Altar, he maintained that 'it is ill done to condemn the infants of the Christians that die without baptism of whose salvation by the Scriptures we be assured;' and said he 'would likewise judge well of the infants of the infidels who have none other sin in them but original . . . It is not against the faith of a Christian man to say that Christ's death and passion extendeth as far for the salvation of innocents, as Adam's sin made all his posterity liable to condemnation.' The following gems, selected almost at random from his earlier treatises, have all, more or less, a Puritan tinge. 'Men,' he says, 'may have the gift of God to interpret the Scripture unto other, but never *authority* to interpret it otherwise than it interpreteth itself.' 'The Scriptures solely and the Apostles' Church are to be followed, and no man's authority, be he Augustine,

[1] *Later Writings of Bp. Hooper*, p. 386.

Tertullian, or other, Cherubim or Seraphim.' 'Christ and his Apostles be grandfathers in age to the doctors and masters in learning. Repose thyself only upon the Church that they have taught thee by the Scripture. Fear neither of the ordinary power nor succession of Bishops, nor of the major part.' 'God hath bound his Church and all men that be of his Church unto the Word of God. It is bound unto no title or name of men, nor unto any ordinary succession of Bishops or Priests; longer than they teach the doctrine contained in Scripture no man should give hearing unto them.' 'There is no church can be governed without this discipline, for where it is not there see we no godliness at all, but carnal liberty and vicious life.'

Perhaps however the most noteworthy of his early writings is his exposition of the ten commandments, and particularly his exposition of the fourth, where he explains that the rest of the Sabbath was necessary: *first*, to secure both to man and beast that periodic repose without which they could never endure 'the travail of earth;' *second*, not that men might give themselves to idleness and pastime such as was then used among Christian peoples, but that, being free from the travail of the world, they might give themselves to meditation on the works and benefits of God, the hearing of his Holy Word, and the care of the sick and poor; and *third*, that it might be to

them a standing type and figure of the everlasting rest that remaineth for the people of God. 'This Sunday,' he continues, 'that we observe, is not the commandment of men, as many say, that would, under the pretence of this one law, bind the Church of Christ to all other laws that they have ungodly prescribed unto the Church; but *it is by express words commanded that we should observe this day (Sunday) for our Sabbath.*'[1] The Puritans therefore of a later time, in contending against the Book of Sports and the pastimes by which the Lord's Day continued to be profaned in many parts of England, only resumed the contest which Hooper had begun—and revived the teaching he had learned from Bullinger, the most conservative in this respect perhaps of all the Reformers. He also favoured a more simple way of observing the Lord's Supper than was then in use,[2] wore only on certain occasions the episcopal habits, and associated with himself in the administration of his extensive dioceses several superintendents, to whom he gave special charge of matters of discipline, as well as of the meetings of the clergy for studying the Word of God, and the simpler elements of religious truth.[3]

[1] *Early Writings of Bp. Hooper*, p. 342. [2] *Ibid.* pp. 536, 537.

[3] Biographical Notice prefixed to Parker Society's edition of his works, pp. xvii, xix. 'No father in his household, no gardener in his garden, nor husbandman in his vineyard was more or better occupied than he in his diocese . . . in teaching and preaching to the people there.'

Farrar, Bishop of St. David's, who suffered martyrdom about the same time, seems to have belonged to the same school as Hooper. So also did Ponet or Poynet, Bishop of Winchester, who drew up one of the earliest English Protestant Catechisms, befriended Knox at Frankfort, and was a member of his congregation at Geneva. Even Ridley, who at one time had contended so bitterly with Hooper, seems to have relented in his last days, and not only exchanged friendly greetings with his former antagonist, but expressed a hope that they might be one in red though they had been two in white. He had been zealous in removing from the churches throughout his diocese altars and images, and providing tables for the administration of the Lord's Supper. He disputed ably at Oxford against transubstantiation, and he declared of the priestly robes thrust on him before his degradation that they were more ludicrous than an actor's in a play. Like Hooper and Latimer, he sealed his testimony with his blood rather than give place to Romish error and will-worship.

I do not venture to include among these pioneers and earliest representatives of Puritanism the name of the amiable, thoughtful, cautious but somewhat timid Cranmer. No doubt Dr. Hook and other High Churchmen of the present day are right in refusing to accept him as a representative

of Anglo-Catholicism. His standpoint was more decidedly Protestant. Like several good men in the old church, he held, at least in his earlier days, that by God's law, a bishop and a priest were one, and in later life he defended with great ability and learning the Reformed doctrine of the Lord's Supper against Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester. From first to last he was not ashamed to own the ministers of the Protestant churches on the Continent as brethren in Christ, to encourage several of them to settle in England, and to provide for them while there. Once and again he invited the co-operation of their leaders in carrying out a scheme he had much at heart, for gathering in council their best men, and engaging them in preparing a common creed, the acceptance of which might bind them more firmly together, vindicate them from the reproaches of their adversaries, and supply an antidote to the creed then being framed at Trent. He drew largely on foreign sources for the Articles he ultimately prepared for the English Church, and still more largely for the materials of the Catechisms he translated or sanctioned. But his own leanings were not towards such a sweeping reformation as had elsewhere been carried out, perhaps not decidedly in favour of all that before the death of Edward VI. he had been prevailed on to concede. He certainly laid it down in the preface to the English

ordinal that ever since the Apostles' days there had been three orders of ministers in the church, and resolutely adhered far more closely to the ancient forms of devotion than was done in the liturgies of the Reformed churches abroad. He urged with much persistence the injunction of kneeling in the act of receiving the communion as well as of wearing the old clerical habits. According to à Lasco, he seems to have suggested the enforcing of the former by civil penalties, just as he had by the same means compelled Bishop Hooper to accept consecration in the episcopal robes. He somewhat resented the deference of the Privy Council to Knox and the more thoroughgoing Reformers, and spoke of them as 'glorious and unquiet spirits which can like nothing but that is after their own fancy,' and denounced their principle (which however he somewhat misunderstands or misstates) 'that whatsoever is not commanded in Scripture is against Scripture' as 'the chief foundation of the Anabaptists and divers other sects.'[1] He was, however, a true-hearted Protestant, and one for whom all true-hearted Protestants in the church he adorned have abundant cause to thank God, for the noble service he was honoured to do.[2]

[1] Lorimer's *John Knox and the Church of England*, p. 104.

[2] Perhaps at a time when it has become a sort of fashion to disparage him, the following testimony to his worth by a grateful Scottish exile whom he had sheltered and befriended may not be

It would be unpardonable for a Scotchman, in such a sketch as this, to omit all reference to John Knox. No doubt he was in one sense a foreigner in England, as were Bucer, Martyr, à Lasco, and others from the Continent, whose counsel and aid were welcomed by the young king and his advisers. But Knox was more closely allied to them in speech, and, from the first, could be utilised as a public preacher in the National Church. By the offices they conferred on or offered to him it is evident that they looked on him as more of kin than the others. By the course he followed it is evident that he acknowledged the kinship, and was not unprepared to sink the Scot in the Briton, and, that, so far as conscience suffered him, he was ready to aid the reforming party in England in the great work they had in hand. Freed from his

deemed out of place. It is thus Alesius, then Professor of Divinity at Leipzig, in the epistle dedicatory to his Commentary on the Romans, addresses his former patron: 'Te enim tanquam parente istic usus sum, ad te in omnibus difficultatibus pro consilio et auxilio tanquam ad sacram anchoram confugi. Tua opera et opes semper mihi expositæ erant . . . Hunc [meum] amorem mirifice auget admiratio excellentis doctrinæ tuæ et acerrimi judicii, magnæ sapientiæ, gravitatis, moderationis, clementiæ in deliberationibus et judiciis, assiduum et indefessum studium in quærenda et eruenda veritate . . . munificentia in conquerendis et alendis hominibus doctis ex omnibus nationibus.' Finally, he testifies that in his lifelong wanderings, which had brought him into contact with men of many cities and nations, he had nowhere met a bishop more learned, more grave, prudent, pious, humane and liberal, and that he only refrains from saying more because he knows it would offend the Archbishop's modesty.

captivity in the French galleys through English influence, he was first sent as special preacher to Berwick, then to Newcastle, and the neighbouring parts, disputing while there before Tunstal, Bishop of Durham and his doctors, against transubstantiation and the other errors connected with the Romish mass. He was next appointed to be one of the King's six chaplains, to whom, as Dr. Hook in his Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury[1] informs us, very large powers were at that time conceded. In this office he had not only occasionally to preach before the king and court, but also to itinerate in various districts of England, and by preaching, conference, and disputation, endeavour to wean the people from their old superstitions, and win them over to the new faith. He was offered the bishopric of Rochester for the express purpose of securing that a man of energy and resolution should be near the cautious and somewhat timid primate to encourage him, and also spur him on when occasion called. This proffered honour he declined; but as one of the royal chaplains he zealously discharged the duties of his office, and helped in various ways the progress of the Reformation. He was consulted in regard to the Forty-two Articles and the second Prayer Book of King Edward, and from the documents recently recovered and printed by Principal Lori-

[1] New Series, vol. v. p. 13.

mer,[1] it is evident that he took an active part in the revision of both. To the last he contended against kneeling in the act of receiving the Lord's Supper, and did this with such persistence and effect that, after the book was already printed off, an additional rubric was directed to be inserted on a fly-leaf, explaining that this posture was meant solely as a token of thankfulness for the benefits received through the ordinance, but in no sense as an act of homage to 'any real and essential presence there being of Christ's natural flesh and blood.' This has come to be known among High Churchmen as the black rubric, and was unquestionably one of the most Protestant things in this second Prayer Book of Edward VI.[2]

John à Lasco, who, as superintendent of the foreign churches in England, occupied a position apart from the National Church, owed that position

[1] *John Knox and the Church of England*, pp. 109, 111, 267. He had administered the Lord's Supper in a simpler form at Berwick.

[2] Elizabeth, while professing to re-establish this very book of her brother, did so with a few changes which made it less acceptable to the Puritans. In particular she took care to expunge the above rubric, as well as to prefix to the sentences addressed by the minister to the communicants certain words from Edward's first Book which might, at least, leave room for the view which the rubric was intended to exclude. The restoration of this rubric was repeatedly desired by the Puritans in the time of Elizabeth's successor, but, so far as I know, in vain. It was certainly left out in the Prayer Books of Charles I. Its insertion was urged by Archbishop Ussher and other moderate men in 1640, but it was not till 1661 that it was authoritatively restored, and then only in a somewhat weakened form.

to the high esteem in which he was held by Cranmer and the advisers of the king. He was often consulted by them on the affairs of the Church, and stood by Knox in his controversy about the mode of receiving the Lord's Supper, and with Hooper in his controversy about the vestments. In his congregations he generally followed simpler forms than were yet sanctioned for the National Church. In the epistle prefixed to his *Forma ac Ratio Tota Ecclesiastici Ministerii in Peregrinorum Ecclesia Londini instituta* he expressly affirms that, as England was not then deemed ripe for the complete reformation which the king and his advisers desired it to attain, he had been authorised by the Privy Council and encouraged by the king to draw up for the churches of these Protestant refugees a constitution in strict accordance with Scripture precept and Apostolic practice, and without slavishly adhering to rites and ceremonies of human origin, in order that when the time should come when the laws could be more unreservedly amended, and the nation, as a whole, could bear a more thorough Reformation, it might have, in the practice of these friendly churches within its own borders, a model on which it could rely and to which it might be inclined to defer. The arrangements made in à Lasco's book in regard to worship and discipline resemble generally those of the Reformed churches

on the Continent, save that the communicants neither stood nor knelt, but sat, when receiving the bread and wine in the Lord's Supper.[1] To a large extent these arrangements were adopted by Knox among the English exiles at Geneva—probably just because they had virtually received the approval or toleration of Edward VI. and his Council. To the same extent and probably for the same reason they were in 1560 adopted also in Scotland. There was one material difference, however, which it is right I should mention. A Lasco, while holding with Jerome and even with Cranmer in his earlier days, that by the Divine law *idem erat Presbyter qui Episcopus*, held also that it was agreeable to Scripture that the presbyters or ministers should have a fixed president selected from among their own number and duly set over them. He did not, like Knox in the First Book of Discipline, represent such superintendency as an extraordinary and temporary function in the church, but regarded it as an ordinary and permanent one; though still the superintendent in his view was of the same order as the other ministers, and there was no duty devolved on him which in case of need an ordinary presbyter might not undertake.

The English Reformation then, we are warranted

[1] *Ioannis à Lasco Opera* (Kuyper's edition), vol. ii. pp. 10, 163. This 'Forma' was used from 1550 and printed in 1551.

to conclude, had not yet advanced so far as the king and his advisers desired it should. There was much they thought still remaining to be done, and which could not well be done, to insure its completeness as well as its more general acceptance till the king should attain ripe age—be able to bring his full influence to bear both on his nobility and his people, and along with his Parliament give final legal sanction to it. But already the movement had been pushed on beyond its native strength. Favoured by the king, and many of the educated classes, and the burgesses of the larger towns, it had penetrated but partially among the nobility, and the uneducated masses in the provinces. Notwithstanding the itinerant labours of the royal chaplains and other special preachers, the country had been but partially evangelised. The people, where not positively hostile, were largely indifferent, and unprepared to stand by the new faith when the countenance of authority was withdrawn. Thus a terrible reaction set in when his sister Mary ascended the throne, and the support of the authorities was transferred to the other side. No doubt the cruelties then perpetrated under colour of law burned deep into the heart of the nation that hatred of Rome which it has ever since retained, and prepared even many of the uninstructed masses in the provinces ultimately to welcome or to tolerate changes to which originally

they were not inclined. This unfortunate queen has been known ever since as the Bloody Mary. Her brief reign might well be termed the 'killing time' in England, as the reign of Charles II. was in Scotland, and however some in our day may palliate or minimise its excesses, enough by almost universal consent remains to brand with infamy the queen and her advisers. Five bishops, a considerable number of inferior clergy, and a goodly contingent of pious laymen, about 280 altogether, are said to have been burned at the stake or otherwise to have suffered for their faith.[1]

The homely narrative of Foxe, the great martyrologist, has made us all familiar with the sad story of the sufferings and heroism of these martyrs, and though in recent times it has been fiercely assailed it still deservedly retains not a little of its old popularity.

While their leaders thus nobly bore witness at the stake to the truths which aforetime they had taught, many of the reforming clergy who had occupied less prominent positions deemed it their duty to act on the counsel of our Lord (Matt. x. 23), and for a time to leave their native land and

[1] It is thus Alesius records the grief and horror which these cruelties aroused among Protestants at the time: 'Recens plaga recrudescere facit vetus vulnus, cui cicatrix obduci cœpit. De vivis episcopis crematis post Polycarpum vix scio extare exemplum etiam apud illos qui fuerunt Christiani nominis jurati hostes, et jam in Anglia vivi ad palum comburuntur episcopi quorum vita et doctrina vere Apostolica fuit!'

seek shelter where they would be free to worship God according to their consciences. Repelled by the stricter Lutherans of Germany, they were received with open heart and arms by the Reformed or Calvinistic churches, both in Germany and Switzerland. At Frankfort, Emden, Strasburg, Zürich, Basel, Aarau, and Geneva, hospitality was extended to them, places of worship were assigned to them, and opportunities for the prosecution of study, and the practice of various industries were afforded to them. If not without privations or occasional differences among themselves, yet generally in quietness and with profit, they were enabled to pass these sad years, and by intercourse with the chiefs of the Reformation to realise more fully their oneness with them in sympathy and convictions, or by attendance on their academic lectures to add to their stores of knowledge and to get their ideas widened, their principles confirmed, and themselves prepared for further services in happier days, of which I propose to give you an account in my next Lecture.

LECTURE II.

DEVELOPMENT AND HISTORY OF PURITANISM UNDER QUEEN ELIZABETH.

IN my last Lecture I carried down my historical sketch of the origin and development of Puritanism to the time of the Marian persecution and the dispersion of the English exiles among the Continental Protestants. These exiles did not need to go abroad to learn the rudiments of Puritanism, either of its doctrinal teaching, or of its forms of worship or of church order. These I told you they had already learned from honoured teachers in their own land, who had drawn their principles chiefly from their personal study of the Word of God. The thing, I told you, existed before the name, but soon after the time to which we have come the name appeared as well as the thing.

The exiles were now brought into contact with men who by their own independent study had been led to similar conclusions, and there were circumstances in the recent history of Continental Protestantism which naturally inclined them to attach special importance to these conclusions.

A few years before, the Emperor Charles V., in his anxiety to prevent a disruption of the church in Germany, had endeavoured at the moment of his political triumph over the Protestant Princes to impose on them and their subjects an *Interim* which, while allowing them, till a general Council should determine otherwise, to retain in a modified form some of the more important of their doctrinal convictions, required them to receive back the old ritual and ceremonies, including of course the old priestly dresses and ornaments. This was yielded to by many for a time from dire necessity, but resisted by the more resolute. Even the question whether the surplice might be worn was answered by these negatively.[1] The consequence was that when the temporary pressure was withdrawn and they recovered their liberty, they again discarded the old rites and dresses, and became more decided against them than before. They were symbols of their temporary enslavement as well as relics of Popery, not retained as in England to wean them from its more essential corruptions, but to draw them back to the Old Church more fully.

While these feelings were yet fresh and strong the English exiles came among them. The magistrates of Frankfort accordingly, in granting them an asylum and a church for their wor-

[1] Antwort M. F. Illyrici auff den Brieff etlicher Prediger von der Frage, ob sie lieber weichen denn den Chorrock anziehen sollen.

ship, made the condition that they should not dissent in doctrine or ceremonies from the French congregation, which also met in the same place. The more advanced of them were probably glad of such a good reason for moving in the direction in which they wished to move. They would not lack encouragement from à Lasco, who had stood by them in England and was then at Frankfort, worshipping with his Dutch congregation in the same church with the French and the English. At any rate they secured the harmonious consent of all the company to the conditions, and in testimony they appointed certain representatives to sign the Confession, which the minister, doctor, and elders of the French Church had already signed A form of service and of church discipline was also drawn up, and an invitation given to their countrymen dispersed in other cities to come and share their privileges. But their harmony was disturbed by the new arrivals, and their difficulties increased apace, till, after various attempts at compromise, the more advanced members of the company were outvoted, and sought another asylum where they might hope to enjoy the forms and discipline they valued. This they found at Geneva, through the special favour of Calvin. The congregation they had left behind, with consent of the syndics, put on somewhat more of the 'face of an English Church,' but not even so did

it attain to peace, nor did it ever venture to introduce the surplice or the observance of kneeling at the reception of the communion, of the sign of the cross in baptism, or the use of the ring in marriage;[1] and when the happier days they sighed for came, most of them at first sided with those who pleaded for a continuance of liberty in such matters.

These happier days were supposed to have dawned in November 1558, when Elizabeth succeeded to her sister's throne. Immediately, Protestants who had been living in retirement in their own country or in exile elsewhere hastened to London and paid their court to the new sovereign. All were received with more or less favour and encouraged to accept employment in the reconstituted Church, save some of those who came from Geneva. During the few bright years they had spent there, they had enjoyed the friendship and protection of Calvin, and as a congregation had been left in a great measure free to follow their own bent, and develop their own discipline and forms. They had thought of the needs of others besides themselves, and by the preparation of their metrical Psalter and new version of the Scriptures in their native tongue, to say nothing of their Book of Common Order and trans-

[1] *Original Letters of English Reformation*, p. 754:—'We gave up private baptizing, confirmation of children, saints' days, kneeling at the holy communion, the linen surplices and crosses, and other things of like character.'—*Cox and others to Calvin.*

lation of Calvin's Catechism, long used in Scotland, and in part circulated in England too, they had done more real and permanent service to the cause of the Reformation in their native land than all the rest of the exiles then on the Continent. Geneva was in their eyes 'such a school of Christ as the world for many ages had not seen,' and they had striven by their lives and labours to make their own congregation worthy of this school. Their efforts had been appreciated and acknowledged. Their ministers Knox and Goodman, and some of their members, had had the freedom of the city conferred on them, and at their departure had intrusted to its custody that 'Livre des Anglois' which is the earliest register of a Puritan church and is still preserved with care in the archives of the city. Knox however, while there, had had the misfortune to publish his treatise 'On the Monstrous Regiment of Women,' and Goodman his treatise, 'How Superior Powers should be obeyed,'[1] offences which a Tudor queen could hardly be expected to overlook or forgive, and the offences of the ministers brought the flock also under suspicion. Knox in returning to Scotland was not allowed to set foot on English soil, and all his efforts to explain were

1 Possibly Poynet's treatise 'Of Politique power and of the true obedience which subjects owe to kings and other civil governors,' reprinted in 1642, and said in reprint (E 154, No. 36) to have been first published in 1556, may have been so at Geneva.

haughtily rejected. Goodman for a time was so repulsed that he deemed it best to yield to the request of his former colleague and aid him in his great work in Scotland ;[1] and other members of the congregation had difficulty in making their peace.

Elizabeth, the new queen, was happily surrounded by wise and faithful counsellors who made her reign illustrious and prosperous, and controlled its policy in great crises ; yet, as one determined to rule as well as reign, she insisted often on settling important matters according to her own arbitrary will and without regard to the wishes of her Council or her Parliament. In particular she took into her own hands from the first the reformation of the Church and the regulation of its worship almost with as much imperiousness as her father had done. While scrupling to assume the title of 'Supreme Head on earth, under Christ, of

[1] Goodman was a man of superior abilities and extensive learning. His book was highly esteemed by Milton and other patriots in the following century, and will not be thought meanly of yet by any unprejudiced reader. Having been Divinity Reader at Oxford in 1553, Goodman was deemed the fittest person to be made minister at St. Andrews in 1560. But his predecessor, who had been vicar before the Reformation, and had acted as minister in 1559-60, was allowed to carry the emoluments of his vicarage with him to Aberdeen, and Goodman, after four or five years' faithful service, failing to secure an adequate maintenance, returned to England. There he was exposed to many hardships, and had to make a sort of recantation of his political sentiments. He survived till 1602, and was held in great esteem even outside the Puritan circle. Ussher long treasured and repeated the pious sayings he had heard from him on his deathbed.

the Church of England,' she assumed, and exercised without scruple, all the power which the title was held to imply. While professedly adopting the second Prayer Book of her brother, she imported into it that Ornaments' rubric from his earlier Book, which was to work such woe in her day, and has caused such trouble even in ours. As already mentioned she prefixed words to those enjoined in it to be used at the distribution of the elements in the Lord's Supper which were meant to make it possible even for a Romanist to communicate, and she excluded that rubric put in originally in deference to the scruples of Knox, which was the most Protestant thing in the book. She prevailed on Parliament when passing the Act of Uniformity, to recognise her right to add, to those already appointed, such further rites and ceremonies as she should judge to be for the glory of God and the honour of religion; and had she found the old bishops as compliant as her father had done, she might have been led to use this right in such a way as might gratify them in minor things rather than their opponents. With all her good and noble qualities (and they were many) she was a Tudor every inch, and less disposed to yield one jot of her prerogative in matters ecclesiastical than in matters civil. She thought her subjects should loyally submit to the injunctions of their sovereign, in regard to the

former as fully as to the latter. Even when the dangers which at first threatened her and might have palliated if they could not justify her early imperiousness were passed, she could still play the despot, and endeavour by sheer force to stamp out intensely earnest convictions, which, more gently dealt with and more lovingly guided, would have been a strength to her throne and to the institutions of the land. She had a natural predilection for the mongrel faith and worship of her father's later years, a fondness for external pomp and symbolism which her most favoured prelates at times found it hard to wink at—impossible to justify, and but little sympathy with the practical side of Puritanism and with that inner experience and holy self-denying life which were its crown and glory. She looked with ill-concealed dislike on the marriage of the clergy, and never repealed her sister's Act against it. Her first purpose seems to have been to retain the Marian bishops in office (if they had consented to turn with the tide once more and take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy), and only to fill up the vacant sees with men of decided Protestant convictions. But by the refusal of these bishops to take the oath of supremacy and conform to the new order, she was obliged to fall back on the Protestant bishops who had been dispossessed in the beginning of her sister's reign, and the men who had

identified themselves with the reforming party in her brother's time, and who had had their convictions matured in retirement or in exile.

It is difficult to believe, notwithstanding assertions to the contrary by the High Church biographer of the Archbishops of Canterbury, that they had not ample assurance given them that the Church in which they were asked to serve was meant to be the restoration of that of King Edward's time,[1] and some encouragement to hope that the things they would rather have had away were continued merely for reasons of state policy, and might (as was professed by him), if borne with for the time, be ultimately abandoned or modified. In fact, they had a right to regard the acceptance of Coverdale's services without the episcopal habits, at the consecration of Archbishop Parker, as a pledge not only that the same indulgence would be extended to him in the future but also that the practical toleration they had themselves enjoyed in King Edward's days would not be denied them

[1] Lee in his recent work, *The Church under Queen Elizabeth*, admits this frankly:—'Bishops Pilkington, Sandys, Grindal, Overton, Meyrick, Bale, Bullingham and Parkhurst were each and all thoroughly agreed in their principles and course of action; and in substituting the new religion which had been set up for the old one, which had been deliberately and duly abolished by Parliament, . . . they were only carrying out the obvious and avowed intentions of those state officials who had placed them in high ecclesiastical positions expressly to carry out the changes . . . . resolved upon.'—Vol. i. p. 272.

again. The great bulk of the Marian clergy abandoned their former bishops and conformed externally to the new order of things, and if they, Romanist in all but the name, were to be continued and borne with, that the nation might be kept united in one comprehensive Church, much more surely might they who were ministers in Edward's days, and were seeking only what was practically conceded then,—the men who were heartily attached to the new order of things, and had the learning, the zeal, the earnest Christian life, and the preaching abilities needed to insure among the masses an intelligent acceptance of this new order,—much more surely had they a right to expect that reasonable concessions should be made to them, and a *modus vivendi* be allowed them, even if, in the interest of union among Englishmen, the obnoxious ceremonies were not entirely to be removed.

Various efforts were made in the first Convocation that assembled after the reconstitution of the Church formally to secure this,[1] and for a few years it seems at least to have been practically conceded. We cannot suppose that those bishops who had

[1] It was only by a single vote, and that a proxy, that in 1562 the Lower House of Convocation rejected proposals which would probably have done this:—'That in baptism the cross may be omitted, . . . that the order of kneeling (at the communion) may be left to the discretion of the ordinary, . . . that it be sufficient for the minister . . . (once) to wear a surplice . . . That the use of organs be removed.'—Strype's *Annals*, vol. i. pp. 336-339.

pleaded so strongly as Grindal, Jewell, Horn, and Parkhurst had done to have these stumbling-blocks taken out of the way, would be at all disposed to press hardly on scrupling brethren, or that even the Archbishop, though not so kindly befriending them, would of his own accord have left his quiet antiquarian researches and other much-loved studies to enter into conflict with them. We cannot suppose that Elizabeth's wise counsellors, who saw the necessity of encouraging the Dutch and the Huguenots in their struggles, as well as of standing by the Protestants of Scotland though they would 'remit nothing of that they had received from Geneva,' could be so blind to their true interests at home, as for the sake of tippet or surplice, cross or ring, to cut off the right arm of their strength.[1] But the queen either of her native wilfulness, or from jealousy of their increasing influence with the citizens of London and the tendency of their opinions in the political sphere, or at the instigation of some busybody who had a grudge

[1] 'The great object of Elizabeth's ministers . . was the preservation of the Protestant religion, to which all ceremonies of the Church and even its form of discipline were subordinate. An indifferent passiveness among the people, a humble trust in authority, however desirable in the eyes of churchmen, was not the temper which would . . . have quelled the generous ardour of the Catholic gentry on the queen's decease; . . . but every abhorrer of ceremonies, every rejector of prelatical authority might be trusted as Protestant to the heart's core, whose sword would be as ready as his tongue to withstand idolatry.'—Hallam's *Constitutional History of England*, vol. i. pp. 195, 196.

against them, or sought by unworthy means to gain her favour, was at length unfortunately persuaded to put forth her authority against them and to enjoin the bishops to restrain or deprive them. She knew it was not a popular business, and she would rather the odium of it should light on them than on herself. But in case of need she was always ready to give help, and, once committed to a side, could never again be brought to treat them with kindness and forbearance, and frankly to utilise their acknowledged gifts for the preaching of the gospel and advancement of Christian knowledge and godly living among the uninstructed masses of her people. She became only the more peremptory, the more their influence became apparent, and the sympathies of others were drawn forth towards them, and a love for more popular control in affairs of government began to be developed, the more determined to uphold her prerogative and to humble and crush them, even if in so doing much of the earnest life of the Church had to be crushed out, many of the most effective preachers to be silenced, and many of the firmest supporters of her throne had to be maltreated or discredited.

Your time will not admit of my entering much into details as to the melancholy blunders, merciless oppression, and savage cruelties which characterised her ecclesiastical administration in its relation to the

Puritans. That has been done pretty fully by Dr. Hetherington in the introductory chapters of his *History of the Westminster Assembly*, and still more fully and impartially by Mr. Marsden in his *History of the Early Puritans*, and by some of our recent secular historians, as well as by Neale and other Puritan writers in earlier times. To certain prominent occurrences I must briefly refer, as the ultimate shape and direction of the Puritan struggle was largely determined by them.

The returned exiles who accepted bishoprics and other high dignities, were, as already mentioned, almost all in favour of concessions being made to the scruples of the Puritans, if not even anxious for the entire removal of the rites and ornaments to which they objected; and perhaps one of the greatest services rendered by the Parker Society in our own day has been the transcription and publication of their correspondence with Bullinger and other Continental reformers, in which these facts are so clearly brought out. But they hesitated to insist on obtaining such concessions before accepting office, when firmness on their part might possibly have secured them, and they never were in a condition to insist on them afterwards. Nay, against their own better judgment and wishes, some of them were forced on to deal harshly with brethren whom they loved, and on whom they knew they must chiefly rely to give life and vigour

to the new Church, and to defend and propagate among the ignorant and careless that reformed faith which they, not less than these brethren, held dear. 'Oxford had but three preachers in 1563, and they were chief men among the Puritans. The case of Cambridge was very similar;'[1] and in fact throughout the kingdom generally it was the same. It was to them the queen and her counsellors must look for the earnest and resolute defence of their common faith, in the only way in which access could be got for it to the minds of the unreading masses. It was to them she must look for the vigorous defence of her own rights against Pope and Stuart and all opponents. It was not by homilies on the peril of idolatry or the sin of wilful rebellion, lifelessly drawled out by men who had changed from side to side and had no very deep convictions either way, that the crisis could be met, and the more intelligent of the people roused to the seriousness of the issue.

What Froude has said of Knox[2] may be said in a measure of his Puritan brethren in England: that they saved Elizabeth's throne and secured the triumph of Protestantism in Britain, in spite of herself, and all her caprice and cruelty towards them. The men who at first presented themselves for ordination in the restored Church were generally men of mean condition and miserably

[1] Marsden, pp. 100, 101. [2] *Short Studies*, 1867, vol. i. p. 168.

qualified for the sacred offices to which they aspired, and so limited was the supply, even of such men, that many churches were left without ministers for a time, or consigned to the charge of men of doubtful ordination[1] as well as deficient education. Ecclesiastical lands and revenues in several cases were appropriated by the queen, in several were made over to her courtiers; bishoprics were kept vacant—Ely and Oxford for about twenty years. Several of those in high ecclesiastical offices showed more concern to enrich themselves and their families, than to aid in supplementing confessedly inadequate livings or to guard against further alienation and abuse. The incumbents of Queen Mary's days, who to so large an extent had nominally submitted to the new régime, were too often either popishly affected or grossly ignorant—dead to the living meaning of the changes which had been made, or unable to preach, at times even to read, in an edifying and impressive manner—clinging, as has been said, to the old forms, which they could repeat by rote, rather than taking the trouble of making themselves familiar with the new—in some cases using the breviary or the missal in private, and the Anglican liturgy in public—oft but able to read

[1] Lee often refers to this, and holds that many of the monks and friars who conformed and got benefices, if in orders at all, were only in minor orders—*lectores*, *acolyti*, etc. So probably were many of those admitted as Readers in Scotland.

the prescribed English prayers and homilies, and keep up a certain routine of service, and seldom able to speak any 'word of exhortation' fitted to touch the hearts of their people, or to exercise a permanent influence for good among them. The returned exiles had in most cases a respectable amount of learning, and Christian experience, and the ability and will to put both to use in popular preaching and more didactic argument in defence of the Reformed faith; and at first they had no great cause to complain that their claims were overlooked. Their metrical Psalter was allowed to be sung before and after prayers and sermons, and their translation of the Bible, without formal allowance, was largely circulated and often reprinted, and certain prayers and the Confession in their Book of Common Order were generally appended to the Psalter and possibly used in the pulpit though not in the reading-desk. Their earnest labours and solid learning, wisely and generously directed, and their scruples reasonably yielded to or winked at, would with God's blessing have sufficed in a single generation to change the face of England, and make the common people not less educated and zealously Protestant than the people of still ruder Scotland became. But those in power determined to put uniformity and submission to rigid law or to arbitrary will in the forefront, and to exalt prerogative above all limitations of regulated freedom, and the

benefits of a mechanical routine above the blessing of a living active ministry and a moral, intelligent, grave, and deeply earnest people.

It was in the year 1564-5 that the first lamentable attempt was made to enforce a rigid uniformity, and by prerogative royal exact subscription to it from the scrupling Puritans, till then generously treated or grumblingly tolerated. The peremptory mandate requiring them to give this subscription issued from the sovereign herself; but it was carried out, if with reluctance yet with submission, by several of the prelates, and especially by Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury,[1] and Grindal, Bishop of London, in whose diocese many of the leading Puritans were settled, and by consistent Christian living, as well as by efficient pastoral

[1] Historians are not agreed how far she, and how far Parker was, in the first instance, to blame for the earlier proceedings against them. I have no doubt the real explanation is that given above, that the queen wished and urged him to proceed, just as she encouraged Aylmer's action against Cartwright, but that (as in that case) she wished him to take the *onus* on himself. No doubt the bishops, as well as she, thought that firmness and a little severity was all that was needed to crush the party, and instead of retracing their steps when they found they were mistaken, they exaggerated the dangers of a policy of concession, and clamoured for one of repression. Thus, ere many years had passed, we find Sandys writing to the Privy Council in the following excited terms: 'The city will never be quiet till these authors of sedition, who are now esteemed as gods . . . be far removed from the city. The people resort to them as in popery they were wont to run on pilgrimages. . . . A sharp letter from her Majesty would cut the courage of these men. Good my Lords, for the love you bear to the Church of Christ, resist the tumultuous enterprises of these newfangled men.'

work, were commending themselves and their cause to the popular sympathy. Sampson, Humphreys, Lever, and many others—above thirty in all—several of the best, as the Archbishop himself acknowledged, appeared and consented to be suspended or deposed rather than subscribe to observe the proposed uniformity. Not a few sought to delay the evil day by not appearing. The noble-hearted Foxe, to whom Protestant England owes so much, is reported to have pulled out his Greek Testament and said, 'To this only will I subscribe. I have but a humble prebend in the Church, and if you take it from me, much good may it do you.' He seems to have been borne with; but even good Father Coverdale who, as Grindal before, when pleading for his promotion, had said, 'ante nos omnes in Christo fuit,' could not be spared, though the plague had just spared him. After little more than a year's enjoyment of his humble benefice of St. Magnus Rectory, he had to retire once more into obscurity and privation. He was reverenced and followed in London, and, by his influence, was putting the city out of sympathy with the Court, and must, to use the unfeeling words of her Majesty about another, be fitted for heaven, 'but walk thither without staff or mantle.' He was left in his extreme old age 'without stay of living, "pauper et peregrinus,"' in the land which gave him birth, and

which he had laboured so hard to enrich with the true riches of God's Word in his native tongue.

Such measures once taken, further trouble arose, first about private meetings for worship in London, at which Knox's Book of Common Order was used instead of the Liturgy, and then in connection with the more public meetings known as 'the prophesyings.' These were gatherings of ministers and pious laymen for the study and exposition of the Scriptures, and in the great dearth there then was of qualified preachers they were of much service to many, both in stimulating them to the study of the Word of God, and in training them to expound it with readiness and accuracy. They had been held with profit in the Dutch and French churches in London when under the charge of à Lasco, and had probably been resumed by them on their return from the Continent. At the accession of Elizabeth they were a standing institution at Zürich as well as at Geneva, and were introduced with much benefit into Scotland by Knox, soon after 1560. By the commencement of the following decade they appear to have found their way into various parts of England. Several bishops who were earnest for the more thorough reformation of their dioceses,[1]

[1] The sad complaints of several of these bishops as to the state of their dioceses, from the ignorance of the people, and their dislike of the new régime, are given from State Papers and other contemporary sources, by Lee, vol. i. ch. iv.

finding them useful in quickening zeal for the reformed faith, and increasing the number of qualified preachers, gave them their countenance, and endeavoured, by prudent regulations, to avert or restrain any excesses to which, in incautious hands, they might be liable. They were especially dear to Grindal, who had by 1576 succeeded Parker in the primacy. He was a thorough Protestant himself and anxious for the continuance of a thoroughly Protestant ministry, and willing to employ any means which had been found useful in training men for it elsewhere. But the queen, either taking umbrage at the meetings having been set up without her sanction, or dreading the effect they might have in promoting discussion, encouraging greater liberty in the expression of opinion, and fostering a desire for a more popular organisation either in the church or state, determined rigorously to suppress them. She spoke slightingly of the need of preachers, affirming that two or three were enough for a whole county, and that the common people were far better not to have their stolid quiet disturbed by such over-zealous instructors. She peremptorily commanded him to issue formal orders for the suppression of the obnoxious meetings. The archbishop nobly remonstrated against the suppression of an institution which, he was satisfied, had done much good, and might easily be purged of any abuses which,

through the infirmity of men, may have arisen to mar the good it did. But he remonstrated in vain. The queen not only disregarded his courageous and earnest pleading, but carried her displeasure so far as to suspend him from his high office, and confine him as a prisoner to his own house. It is said that, but for the unpopularity of the measure, she would have proceeded to deprive him altogether. He never fully regained the favour of his sovereign, with whom he had as boldly and faithfully remonstrated, as became the high office he held. But it is said that, when he was broken down by grief and the infirmities of old age, and bereft of sight, she relented somewhat and sent him a kindly message, and that he made such acknowledgment as a Christian bishop could honourably make. His virtues and misfortunes made him beloved and revered by his contemporaries, caused his name to be embalmed in the verse of the immortal Spenser, and have secured for him a word of warm commendation from the High Church biographer of the Archbishops of Canterbury, who is never more sparing of his praise than to prelates of the Evangelical school, to which Grindal belonged.

Soon after the commencement of the prophesyings, the more thorough-going Puritans who had been led on to substantially presbyterian opinions, but discouraged by friends abroad and debarred

by the authorities at home from overtly seceding from the national church, began to hold secretly private meetings for mutual conference and prayer, and possibly also for the exercise of discipline over those who voluntarily joined their associations and submitted to their guidance. It is even said that a presbytery was formed at Wandsworth in Surrey, wherein eleven lay-elders were associated with the lecturer of that congregation and certain leading Puritan clergymen. But if this was really a formal presbytery, it is probable that it was what was then called the lesser presbytery or session, not the greater presbytery or *classis* to which the name is now usually restricted. It is more certain that when Cartwright, the redoubted leader of this school of Puritans, was arrested in 1585 and his study searched, a copy was found of a Directory for church-government, which made provision for synods, provincial and national, as well as for presbyteries, greater and lesser. This, according to some authorities, had been subscribed by about 500 Puritans of this school, and, for some years, as I said, had, to a certain extent, been carried out, and a church within the church[1] virtually formed. The book was republished in 1644, and so was known and consulted by the Westminster divines; and it has been reprinted

[1] *Ecclesiola in ecclesia.* Their synods are said to have met in London, Oxford, Cambridge, Warwick, Northampton, etc.

in our own day by Principal Lorimer. It bears considerable resemblance to the famous Ordinances of Calvin and the Second Book of Discipline of the Scottish church, but it is more explicit in its directions as to preaching, and the forms of worship.

I must pass over with bare mention the harsh usage meted out to the great Puritan leader[1] by Whitgift in his early days, and by Aylmer in his later, the ungenerous treatment of Travers, and the pitiless oppression of many 'godly ministers,' when, on Whitgift's accession to the primacy, the Court of High Commission was reconstituted, and more extensive powers were intrusted to it, and a series of interrogatories was devised for extorting a confession from the accused, which even Cecil pronounced to be worthy of the Inquisition itself. I must pass over the harsh imprisonment of Brown

[1] Thomas Cartwright, B.D., first Margaret Professor of Divinity, and one of the preachers in the University Church at Cambridge, where his influence and example probably led to that outbreak of Puritanism on the part of the young men, which some suppose first roused the queen against its advocates. He was harshly expelled the University, and had twice to seek shelter abroad from the cruel usage he experienced at home. In his old age he was allowed, though not without occasional restraint and even imprisonment, to hold the chaplaincy of the hospital at Warwick. He was an able disputant, an eloquent preacher, 'a pure Latinist, an accurate Grecian, an exact Hebrean,' a scholar so learned that Beza said he did not think the sun shone on one more so, according to Marsden 'the Hooker of nonconformity, his equal in acuteness though not in penetration; in eloquence, though not in learning, his superior; his inferior perhaps only in profound dexterity and skill in argument mingled with an awful reverence for truth.' See also Appendix, Note B.

and other extreme Puritans of the Independent school—the tyrannical proceedings of the Court of Star-Chamber against the supposed authors of the satirical Marprelate Tracts, and the cruel sentences on Penry and Udal. Neither can I dwell on the illegal restraint of the freedom of discussion on ecclesiastical affairs in the House of Commons, in various Parliaments, from 1571 downwards, and the noble stand made in behalf of forbearance and healing measures by Wentworth, Strickland, and other patriots in that House—the worthy precursors of Pym and Hampden in the following century. Nor finally shall I advert to the doctrinal disputes which began to be raised before the close of this reign till I come, in a subsequent lecture, to treat of the history and development of doctrine more expressly.

It was indeed a policy of stamping out which was now initiated by the queen, with the aid of despotic Courts of Star-Chamber and High Commission; and with singular disregard of the feelings and convictions of many true-hearted patriots and accomplished Christian scholars, it was attempted to be remorselessly carried out. But the attempt failed as disastrously as it has generally done where authority and prerogative have set themselves against deep and earnest convictions. Many who had not the courage at first openly to avow it, secretly sympathised with

the patriots and the Puritans, and, in time, were emboldened to confess it. By their noble bearing under oppression and tyranny, 'men were led to examine the foundations of the power by which they were so cruelly oppressed. The influence of education and early attachment was thus counteracted, until at length a determination was avowed to overturn a system whose reformation only had previously been sought.' They were forced to seek outside the church what they were refused within, and, in the end, to let loose over the land as a devastating flood those waters which, had proper channels been opened for them, would have flowed on in them to revivify and transform the old church, and make its parched wastes 'rejoice and blossom as the rose.' 'Little as they thought what the consequences of their acts would be, Elizabeth and Whitgift, James and Bancroft,' as Rawson Gardiner says, 'by making a schism inevitable, were the true fathers of Protestant dissent.'

Occasionally guided by considerations of state policy and desire to avoid unpopularity, or yielding to the remonstrances of her patriotic councillors in favour of particular individuals belonging to the party who had been imprisoned or deprived, Elizabeth may have forborne to press hard on them. But ever and anon new occasion was found for restraining and gagging the more obnoxious, whether they sought shelter within or toleration

without the church, whether they sought minor changes or more important reforms in its constitution, whether they advocated these in their sermons, or through the press, or through the instrumentality of friends in Parliament. Even the archbishop, less averse to the repulsive task than some of his brethren, failed at times to satisfy his sovereign gradually becoming more jealous of her prerogative, more harsh and despotic just in those matters of conscience and religion in which she should have been less so, more giddy and frivolous as she advanced to years when the follies of youth should have been laid aside, and the realities of the faith she professed to defend should have bulked larger in her view.[1] She might on great occasions still come forward as the champion of Protestantism, and act with true dignity and spirit as she had done in 1572 when receiving in mourning and with expressions of deepest sorrow the ambassador of the French

[1] 'Towards the conclusion of her reign, the example of the court of Elizabeth was decidedly irreligious, and the contagion spread rapidly among the common people. A preposterous extravagance in dress . . . the prevalence of oaths (freely indulged in by the queen herself) and, to crown the whole, the studied desecration of the Sabbath, mark too plainly the hollowness of that religious profession which even men of fashion were still constrained to make. . . . Social meetings for prayer and praise and for conference among the clergy are almost inseparable from a vigorous piety and an effective ministry, and these had been discouraged. They were chiefly to be met with in the chambers of the Puritans.'—Marsden's *Early Puritans*, p. 239.

king after the massacre of St. Bartholomew ; and again in 1588, when, in prospect of the arrival of the Spanish Armada, she laid aside her usual ***hauteur***, courageously cast herself on the sympathies and loyalty of her people, and placed herself at their head. But that wealth of religious life and activity which the new faith so exuberantly called forth, and all the effects intellectual and industrial which it drew in its train, she failed to utilise or even to recognise as the true strength of her throne, and her best security against Popish reaction. That growing love of freedom and impatience of minute restraint which religious and intellectual activity necessarily fostered, she failed to satisfy or appreciate, or even generously bear with. She fell behind instead of continuing to keep in advance of her advancing people, and endeavouring to anticipate their just aspirations, and by kindly treatment retain their devoted affection. That alone could have made the continuance of personal government still possible, and like several of her successors in similar crises of our history, Elizabeth failed to realise it, and at the proper time to act on it. She, who with due forethought and self-restraint might have permanently attached all hearts to her, and guided their progress, from imperiousness and arbitrary temper missed the possibility, threw away the splendid opportunities, and when at last she awoke

in some measure to the consciousness of what she had missed or thrown away, became peevish and irritable, and sank into deep and hopeless melancholy. 'That bright occidental star' paled, and set in a gloomy and angry sky.

The queen's popularity, I have said, had greatly waned during her later years. Even impartial secular historians, like Hallam, ascribe this not so much to weightier taxation, or to blunders and arbitrary proceedings in her civil government, as 'to her inflexible tenaciousness in every point of ecclesiastical discipline.' The ablest historian of the Puritans tells us that at one period of her reign, when Whitgift was allowed to have his way uncontrolled, nearly one-third of the beneficed clergy of England had incurred suspension, and that this to most of them involved destitution and penury, and to most of their flocks a total deprivation of the means of grace. Men could not fail to ask: 'Would it not be wiser to provide for the effervescence of a well-meaning zeal, however troublesome, within the bosom of the church, than to cast off those fiery energies which might and probably would be arrayed against her?' The numerous party among the laity who sympathised with them had begun to ask this, and others than they were beginning to do so. How anxious thoughtful men, altogether unconnected with the party, had by that time become that all this should be changed, and a more conciliatory

course be tried, appears notably from a tractate written by Francis Bacon, the accomplished philosopher and statesman, before the close of the year at which we have now arrived, and possibly drawn up for the guidance of Elizabeth's successor when assuming the government of the English state. In this tractate Bacon indorses their objection to the use of the words priest, absolution, and confirmation, 'takes exception to the various matters of ceremony at which the Puritans scrupled, inveighs against the abuses of excommunication, non-residence and plurality, the *ex officio* oath, and the excessive power of the bishops, against all which they protested;' and in the spirit of a true patriot, he demands why the ecclesiastical state should be put at greater disadvantage than the civil, and not as considerately adapted to the changing wants and desires of Christian men.[1]

[1] 'I would only ask why the civil state should be purged and restored by good and wholesome laws made every third or fourth year in Parliaments assembled, devising remedies as fast as time breedeth mischiefs, and contrariwise the ecclesiastical state should still continue upon the dregs of time, and receive no alteration now for these five-and-forty years and more. If it be said to me that there is a difference between civil causes and ecclesiastical, they may as well tell me that churches and chapels need no reparations though houses and castles do, whereas commonly, to speak the truth, dilapidations of the inward and spiritual edification of the church of God are in all times as great as the outward and material. Sure I am that the very word and style of reformation used by our Saviour *ab initio non fuit ita* was applied to Church matters, and those of the highest nature.'—Spedding's *Bacon*, vol. iii. p. 105.

LECTURE III.

HISTORY OF PURITANISM UNDER THE EARLIER STUART KINGS.

IN my last lecture I gave you an account of the history and development of English Puritanism during the reign of the last of the Tudor sovereigns. In the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, it may be said to have been still in its infancy: before her death it had almost attained its maturity. Under the unkindly treatment its advocates received, it tended more and more to develop in a polemical as well as a practical form. The defences employed against it showed the same tendency to develop. First the 'nocent ceremonies' formed the chief subject of attack; then, when concessions as to these were refused or withdrawn, the attack was pushed further. The worship and government of the church were more generally assailed, and finally the war threatened to extend into the region of doctrine, in which chiefly they contended for more than mere toleration. The principle which lay at the root of all the contendings of its advocates, and to which most of their varied

assaults in matters of minor importance can be traced up, was the principle that the church has no right to burden the consciences of her members in matters of faith and worship with aught that is contrary to or *beside* (*i.e.* in addition to) the express or implied teaching of the Word of God. In other words they claimed to restrict the authority of the church within narrower limits than their opponents, and to reclaim for liberty a larger province than they were disposed to allow her. They did not as yet themselves perceive the full import of the principle for which they contended. They were reluctant to extend it rigidly to the constitution and government of the church as well as to her articles of faith and forms of worship. But as the contest proceeded, they could not fail to be led on more and more distinctly to assert it with a fuller consciousness of its far-reaching consequences, and a more earnest longing to bring back the church in constitution and government, as well as in faith and worship, to what they believed to be 'the pattern showed in the mount.' Their opponents were also led by the necessities of the warfare to develop their defence. The first Elizabethan bishops accepted the ceremonies and habits, and reluctantly submitted to various restrictions, because the queen so ordered it, and they failed to bend her will in the direction they desired, and in the direction their Protestant brethren abroad had

already led the way. Their successors, more wedded to that to which they had become accustomed, resolutely undertook its defence, asserting against the Puritan position the counter proposition that while Scripture supplied an absolute rule of faith, and no doctrine not drawn from it was to be imposed on the consciences of the members of the church, yet that it was not meant to be a complete or absolute rule in matters of worship and church constitution, but that much for which Scriptural precedent might be alleged might be now unnecessary or inexpedient, and much which Scripture had left undetermined might be necessary to be regulated, and that the church had authority to regulate all matters of this sort and to require obedience to her regulations, provided they were not positively contrary to Scripture. They asserted that the church had a right to retain her polity and forms if ancient and accordant with those of the state in which her lot was cast, and that agitation for a more popular form might be not only inexpedient and unseemly, but even unlawful under a monarchy.

This in brief was the position maintained with mnch logical dexterity and persistence by Whitgift and Cooper, and with certain modifications by the great and gifted Hooker in that treatise of Ecclesiastical Polity which still excites the admiration of men of so divergent sentiments for the candour and

acuteness of its reasoning, and the stately majesty of its diction. Finally, as the controversy became more embittered, some zealots in defence of the existing order of things advanced beyond the lines of Whitgift, or even of Hooker. They claimed for the constitution and government of the Anglican church a *jus divinum*, and maintained that the episcopate was by divine right above the presbyterate, and that to assert the opposite was not merely an error but a 'heresy.' This position, first broached by Bancroft in the reign of Elizabeth, was to find many supporters in the period I am now to describe, and for a time almost to drive the more liberal and attractive theory of Hooker out of the field, even in the church he adorned.

It was on the 24th of March 1602-3, that Elizabeth's long reign came to a close, and she was succeeded by James I. of England and VI. of Scotland. The character of James, while calculated favourably to impress on superficial observation, discloses after deeper study elements which could not fail to mar the success of his reign. There was, as has been said, a 'strange mixture in it of sagacity and folly.' Love of letters and learned men combined with a passion for low sports; professions of religion and zeal for Protestantism discredited at times by mean truckling to 'catholic' powers, by shameful insincerity and vulgar profanity. 'His intellectual

powers were of no common order, his learning, especially on theological subjects, by no means contemptible.' His courtiers—even those of them who were ministers of the church—were wont to speak of him as the British Solomon. Some modern historians, on the other hand, affirm that, as Henry IV. of France said, he was only 'the wisest fool in Christendom.' He was good-natured, but he allowed his goodness to be abused by unworthy favourites. He was shrewd and cunning, and yet could so far conceal his artifice, that he imposed, for a time at least, on many good men in Scotland, and on many of the great statesmen and churchmen of England.[1] But he became, as Bishop Burnet has said, 'the scorn of his age,' and 'was despised by all abroad as a pedant without true judgment, courage, or steadiness, a slave to his favourites, and delivered up to the counsels or rather the corruption of Spain.'[2] He was fond of

[1] 'Such a king as since Christ's time hath not been.'—Bancroft. 'The learnedest king that ever sat upon this throne, or as I verily think since Solomon's time or any other.'—Bishop Hall. 'A king of incomparable clemency, and whose heart is inscrutable for wisdom and goodness.'—Lord Bacon.

[2] His defects Mr. S. Rawson Gardiner is disposed to trace to 'that scene of terror which passed before his mother while he was yet unborn. He came into the world imperfect. His body, his mind, and his heart appear alike to have been wanting in that central force by which the human frame and the human intellect are at the same time invigorated and controlled. His ungainly figure was the type of his inner life. . . . No true and lofty faith ever warmed his heart. No pure reverence ever exalted his understanding.'—*History of England from* 1603 *to* 1616, vol. i. p. 56. See also Green's *History*, vol. iii. pp. 55, 56.

absolute power, and implacable against those who called in question any of his prerogatives, fond of theological discussion, especially when he could count on an opponent courtly enough not to press him too hard in argument, fond of talking and writing against Popery, yet often found really acting for it. Above all, he was fond of management and trickery, and vain of his ability and success in this, which he dignified with the name of kingcraft. But this craft in which he deemed himself a master failed to secure the subservience of his Parliaments, or to crush the aspirations of his people after greater liberty in church and state. His accession to the English throne could not fail to raise hopes of kindlier treatment in the minds of the Puritans. He had previously to some extent shown himself their friend, had invited more than one of their leaders, when harshly oppressed in England, to occupy a chair in a Scottish University,[1] and had ventured to intercede with Queen Elizabeth on their behalf. He had himself sanctioned and subscribed in 1581 what was termed the 'negative' Confession of Faith, in which the ceremonies and the hierarchy appeared to be utterly condemned, and on one memorable occasion had spoken of the English Prayer-Book as 'an evil said mass in English, wanting nothing

[1] Cartwright and Travers were invited to join Melville in the New College, St. Andrews. M'Crie's *Life of Melville*, p. 153.

of the mass but the liftings.' He had no pronounced ritualistic proclivities, no impracticable *jure divino* notions as to the office of a bishop as he had of the 'divinity that doth hedge a king,' and he was too well read in theology not to know what was really Protestant doctrine and what was not. But unfortunately he had already come into collision with the leaders of the more decidedly Puritanic party in the Scottish church, both through his exercise of despotic power and through the coarser vices to which he or his courtiers were addicted, and had given more plain than pleasant evidence of his dislike to them in his *Basilicon Doron*. So plain and unmistakeable indeed was this that he had to make more than one attempt to explain his words away. But notwithstanding all his explanations, there was from his known peculiarities ground to fear that he might be tempted to avenge on their southern co-religionists the defeats and affronts he had received from their Scottish brethren, and might be induced to throw himself into the arms of the prelates, who were prepared to make common cause with him in the maintenance of prerogative, and sedulously to foster in his mind the idea that its maintenance was closely bound up with the preservation of their cherished hierarchy—in fact, to give all possible currency to his favourite maxim, 'No Bishop no King.'

As he proceeded on his way to take possession of his new kingdom, petitions for relief or indulgence were presented to him by the oppressed Puritans, showing how partial effect the harsh measures of Elizabeth and Whitgift had really had in checking the growth of this obnoxious school. Chief among these petitions was the Millenary Petition,—so designated either from its being signed or approved of[1] by nearly a thousand (in reality about 800) ministers, or from the assertion contained in it that it represented the views of more than a thousand of the ministers of the church. It was expressed in deferential and moderate language, and its prayer for relief might have been granted without the slightest danger to the church or injury to the cause of religion in the land. An opportunity of repairing the mistake Elizabeth had made in the early years of her reign, and had persisted in to the last, was now in God's good providence presented, and had the king been really touched by the grateful and graceful salutation addressed to him by the old Puritan leader from his deathbed, and risen to the occasion, or had he followed the counsels tendered by statesmen like Bacon, and acted with ordinary prudence

[1] Some say approbation, not subscription, was asked, and that the numbers so approving were 750. A pamphlet printed in 1606 gives the numbers in 25 English counties, the sum of which is 746. But no mention is made of the Welsh counties or of most within the province of York, from which returns may have been later.

and moderation at this juncture, peace might have been restored to the distracted church on very favourable terms, and relief granted to many earnest men warmly attached to the institutions of their country and desirous to aid in the more efficient maintenance of them. The king with great tact consented to hold a conference to consider the grievances of which the petitioners complained, and to learn in detail what the bishops had to say for themselves.

To this conference, held on the 14th, 16th, and 18th January, 1603-4, he invited four of the ablest and most moderate of the Puritan ministers, viz., Dr. Reynolds of Oxford, Dr. Chaderton of Cambridge, Dr. Sparkes and Mr. Knewstub, along with Archbishop Whitgift, eight bishops and as many inferior dignitaries.[1] Had he only held the balance evenly between the contending parties, allowed each fully and fairly to state its case, and endeavoured to decide between them as a calm judge rather than as a keen partisan, he could hardly have failed to conciliate the favour of the one without alienating the other. But he managed matters with such arrogance and coarseness as brought him little thanks for the few concessions he ultimately made, and deeply wounded the feelings of the party he refused more fully to relieve. He knew that he had that

[1] Patrick Galloway was also present and wrote an account of the Conference, to the presbytery of Edinburgh.

party at his mercy and wished to make them feel that it was so. Their desire for a carefully revised translation of the Scriptures was approved of and in due time was carried out, and those who would give the credit of that great undertaking entirely to others need to be reminded that it was originally suggested and pressed by the more learned Puritans, and that no one while he lived took greater interest in helping it on than the old Oxford Puritan who had urged it at this conference. Some of the more objectionable chapters from the Apocrypha were agreed to be struck out of the Table of Lessons, and Archbishop Abbot held that the old injunctions of Queen Elizabeth left ministers the discretion of going further in that direction. Certain additions explaining the nature of the Sacraments were authorised to be made to the Church Catechism, and the rubric of the service for private baptism was so altered as to discourage lay-baptism. The Act of Edward VI. declaring the lawfulness of clerical marriages was promised to be revived. But there was no concession in regard to the three nocent ceremonies which Bacon then, and Ussher forty years later, would willingly have given up, nor in regard to the terms of subscription which have, with consent of all parties, in our own day, been changed into a form that would have almost met the scruples of the petitioners ere the church was yet rent and

English Protestantism hopelessly divided. There was no attempt to provide a remedy for the scarcity of preachers and the redundance of non-preaching pluralists,—scandals from which the church continued to suffer for nearly half a century. With respect to those meetings of the clergy for prayer and religious conference which Grindal and other bishops had desired to tolerate in the previous reign, as also more formal meetings of the Presbyters in Synod with their Bishop, which no authority would now think of opposing, the king, coarsely interrupting their representative, said they were aiming at a Scottish Presbytery, which 'agreeth with a monarchy as well as God with the devil. There Jack, and Tom, and Will, and Dick, shall meet and at their pleasures censure me and my council.' The closing scene was even more coarse and offensive. 'Well, Doctor,' he said, addressing Dr. Reynolds, 'have you anything else to say?' 'No more at present, please your majesty,' was the meek reply. 'If this,' rejoined the king, 'be all the party hath to say, I will make them conform, or else I will harry them out of the land, or else do worse, hang them—that is all.' And this, according to Hallam, was addressed to a man who 'was nearly, if not altogether, the most learned man in England.'[1] It was a gross violation of the assurance he had given in his writings that

[1] Others suppose it was spoken aside to some of the opposite party. For further details as to this Conference, see App., Note C.

learned and moderate Puritans of this stamp would be held by him in equal honour and love with their opponents.[1]

The same year which witnessed this memorable Conference witnessed also the summoning of the king's first Parliament and of the Convocation of the Church.[2] The concessions agreed to at the conference were not submitted for the approval of Convocation, though that is maintained by Anglo-Catholics now, as well as by Puritans then, to be the course which in such a case ought to be followed. It was thought more for the honour of the king that they should be made simply by his prerogative royal, save the one relating to clerical marriages, which required to be submitted to Parliament. But while the House of Commons was discouraged from interfering on behalf of the Puritans,[3] permission was given to the Convocation to prepare a series of constitutions and canons ecclesiastical which were duly sanctioned by royal authority, and which, so far as the clergy

[1] 'The style of Puritans belongs properly to that vile sect of the Anabaptists only, called the family of love. It is only this sort of men that I wish my son to punish. . . . But I protest upon mine honour I mean it not generally of all preachers, and others that like better of the single form of policy in our Church of Scotland than of the many ceremonies in the Church of England. No, I am so far from being contentious in these things that I do equally love and honour the learned and grave of either opinion.' (E. 204, No. 2.)

[2] It is called the Convocation of 1603, but though it began on 20th March 1603-4, most of its sittings fell within what even in the old style was the year 1604.

[3] Three parts of the House were said to be favourable to them.

are concerned, and they have not been allowed to fall into desuetude, are held still to embody the law of the Church of England. They were 141 in number, and several of them were directed expressly against the Puritans, and seem to us sufficiently harsh. 'If cursing,' says Dr. Price,[1] 'could have effected their destruction, it would have been now inevitable. The sentence of excommunication *ipso facto* was now added to the other penalties of nonconformity.' They were anathematised if they remained in the church, holding any of its rites to be superstitious and repugnant to Scripture. They were anathematised if they seceded and ventured to affirm that their meetings or congregations apart were true and lawful churches. Even in the Convocation which passed these harsh canons one bishop was found bold enough to plead for concession or at least forbearance in regard to *subscription* and the nocent ceremonies, enlarging on the evils of a house divided against itself, and the mistake of silencing so many able preachers at a time when their services were so much needed, and warning his brethren of a day 'when for want of their joint-labours some such doleful complaint might arise as fell out upon an accident of another nature recorded in the Book of Judges, when it is said that for the divisions of Reuben there were great searchings

[1] *History of Protestant Nonconformity*, vol. i. p. 476.

of heart.' One who bore a name long and honourably associated with moderate Puritanism made a more direct attempt to gain the sovereign's ear. Dr. John Burgess, afterwards of Sutton Coldfield, in his sermon before the king at Greenwich, on 19th July 1604, boldly warned him of the dangers of the course on which he had entered, and pleaded for indulgence to the many worthy men who were exposed to his displeasure. The reasons given for this bold step in the apology he made, were 'new and unwonted urging of the ceremonies and subscription beyond what law required (whereby six or seven hundred of the ablest ministers in the land are like to be put out), the general depraving of religious persons (if they be conscionable) under the scorn of Puritanism, as if, the body of religion standing upright, men would yet cut the throat of it . . . the withdrawing of ecclesiastical causes from Parliament, though in the present and in your majesty's days safe, yet in the precedent and sanction of doubtful consequence.' Not even Bacon could have put the matter more forcibly, nor followed this up more moderately and persuasively than he proceeded to do. 'Things which I confess I hold not impious, but needless and scandalous, many hundred ministers think them unlawful and would surely die rather than use them. . . . What is yielded upon suit for peace's sake might go out

with flying colours, one side satisfied with their justifying, and the other gratified with their removal, the form of the present government being still continued with good approbation, and confirmed by our inward peace.'[1]

Shortly after the adjournment of Parliament and Convocation a royal proclamation was issued, enjoining strict conformity to the established order of the church; many Puritan clergy were silenced, some who ventured to petition for indulgence were imprisoned; their flocks were irritated and the lawfulness of separating from the National Church began to be more openly discussed.[2] The number of silenced and deprived ministers is variously estimated. Some place it as high as 1500, but this more probably represents the number of those who at first refused to subscribe to the three articles of the new Canon making the terms of conformity more stringent than Acts of Parliament warranted. Others have reduced the number as low as fifty. Calderwood and Neale say it was above 300, Brooke makes it 400. Others were borne with by individual bishops, and through all this reign even kneeling at the Communion was not enforced in some places, and 'prophesyings' were in one or two instances winked at. The Archbishop of York is said to have been more tolerant than his brother of Canterbury. Neale

[1] Sermon, etc. (E. 145, No. 2.) [2] Marsden's *Early Puritans*, p. 276.

gives various touching instances of the hardships to which several of the silenced ministers were subjected, but none of these is so touching as is the case of the Scottish ministers, who about the same time were decoyed from their distant homes, professedly to advise with the king as to the changes contemplated by him in the Scottish church, but really to deprive their brethren opposed to these changes of the benefit of their counsel and courageous example. Dr. Hook is pleased to make merry over their case as a very harmless piece of revenge for all the lectures they had inflicted on the king in former times. But the device of summoning from Scotland, into what was virtually a foreign land, men whose only offence was the influence their talents and character gave them, and the exercise of the liberty the laws of their country allowed them, was as illegal as it was harsh and spiteful. The long imprisonment of Andrew Melville[1] in the Tower of London, and the life-long detention of his nephew

[1] No one who has read the sad story of his later years when a prisoner in the Tower of London, or an exile in a foreign land, can fail to commiserate the hard fate of this great scholar and patriot. One can read, if not without indignation yet without disgust, the passionate words of the youthful Mary, when she thought she had at last got Knox into her power; but one cannot think without indignation and disgust of her son, now in the maturity of his powers, listening behind the tapestry while his honest, if stern, reprover, at length entrapped into what was to him a foreign country, was being badgered and baited by the English Privy Council.

James from his native land, on both of which the Doctor is judiciously silent, were among the most unjust and tyrannical actions of James's reign. They gave to his Puritan subjects in the south a practical exemplification of what he meant by the coarse threat of harrying them out of the land. That in fact was what it came to. A number of their leaders as well as Andrew Melville, Forbes, Dury, and Welsh from Scotland, had to seek abroad, in the Protestant Colleges of France, or among the merchant communities of their countrymen in the free cities of the Netherlands, the toleration which was denied to them at home. There, using in the service of ingenuous youth of other lands or of their countrymen settled in foreign cities, the stores of learning they had amassed in more favourable times, they were honoured to do good work for the Master they loved, and to train a seed to serve Him and to bear the banner of His crown and covenant when they should be called away.

Soon after the close of the Hampton Court Conference the long life of Archbishop Whitgift came to an end. He was an acute disputant, a sound, well-read divine, a firm supporter of the Augustinian or Calvinistic theology, a zealous and courageous prelate, but a man of imperious and 'choleric temper,' harsh and cruel towards his opponents. He looked forward with apprehension

to the approaching meeting of Parliament, and expressed a wish he might be summoned to give in his account in another world before it met. He may have had a dim presentiment of some of the sad consequences of the tacit alliance he and his fellows had formed with despotism in the state, and more than a dim presentiment of the consequences which must follow from the more than tacit alliance, which now could hardly fail to be struck between the more resolute of the Puritans and the patriots of the House of Commons.

Whitgift was succeeded by Bancroft, Bishop of London, who had been the champion of the hierarchy at the Hampton Court Conference, was more blind to consequences, more decidedly High Church, and more hostile to the Puritans,—'a sturdy piece,' according to Bishop Kennet, 'who proceeded with rigour, severity, and wrath' against them. He was in many respects the true precursor of Laud, not only in asserting the *jus divinum* of episcopacy but also in attempting to revive disused ornaments and ceremonies. His primacy was short, and after seven years he was succeeded by George Abbot, a man naturally more tolerant and kindly to all who valued the principles of the Reformation, of more extensive erudition, more thoroughly Protestant, and the last Augustinian, I suppose, who sat on the throne of Canterbury. It is said to have been at his

expense that the great work of his old Augustinian predecessor, Bradwardine—*De causa Dei contra Pelagium*—was finally given to the world. His former experiences at Oxford had made him fully alive to the dangers which nascent Anglo-Catholicism, and a more indulgently treated Romanism, might occasion to the church and nation, and it was no doubt the earnest and hearty services rendered by the moderate Puritans in the defence of the principles of the Reformation, which secured for them gentler usage at his hands. Under his régime their condition appears to have been considerably ameliorated. Those who still remained in benefices were not harshly prosecuted as they had been before; while those who did not see their way so far to conform to the requirements of the Canons and Prayer-Book as to qualify themselves, for benefices were encouraged to use their gifts in the service of the church as lecturers and preachers. Those who scrupled to subscribe Whitgift's terms of conformity, might still obtain orders on more favourable conditions from Irish bishops, and not a few of them acted as chaplains in the families of the nobility and gentry, or earned a precarious subsistence by teaching. Through the liberality of many of the lay friends of the party, and the purchase of impropriated tithes, fixed salaries were provided, and the number of these lecturers was gradually increased. The cause of

religion under their earnest lectures and catechisings prospered much in London and the provincial towns, and to their oral teaching was added a multitude of practical religious treatises, issued through the press, which extended their influence far and wide, and made this era one of the most memorable in this department of literature.[1] If they had not theoretically abandoned the opinions of Cartwright, practically, like himself in his later days, they had ceased to contend for them, and devoted themselves to peaceful work. Abbot, while a courtier and a conscientious conformist, was like many of the bishops of king James an Augustinian, or Calvinist, in thorough sympathy with the reformed churches abroad, and with no hankering after that scheme which at times had attractions for James himself, and greater for his unfortunate successor, the endeavouring to bring about an understanding between the Papists and the Church of England. It was through his counsels that the king was persuaded in 1615 to

[1] What Heppe says of them at a somewhat later period was certainly true of them at this date also: Wirkten sie nicht nur als begeisterte Prediger, sondern auch als eifrige Katecheten—indem sie die *Katechisation* als ein besonders wirksames Mittel zur Verbreitung des Evangelium's ansahen—sowie als die treuesten, ernsten Seelsorger, als Wohlergeben der ihnen anvertrauten Gemeinden in allerlei Weisen zu fördern und zu heben suchten. Strenge Kirchenzucht, fleissig besuchte Katechisationen, und häufig zusammentretende Conventikel der Gemeindeglieder sah man überall wo pietistische Prediger wirkten, und *ebenso sah man den Segen ihrer Wirksamkeit.—Geschichte des Pietismus*, pp. 50, 51.

authorise the Irish Articles, and so virtually to concede beyond the Irish Channel what had been refused on this side at the Hampton Court Conference, and also in 1618 to send deputies from the English church to the famous Synod of Dort in Holland, and so give practical countenance to the reformed churches on the Continent; and on more than one occasion he sought to mediate in the doctrinal disputes of the Protestants in France. It is said to have been by his influence that the general reading of the Proclamation regarding sports lawful on the Lord's Day was not enforced. If at times in his last years James showed favour to the Arminians, yet in raising Ussher to the primacy of the Irish church he provided beforehand a friend to shelter the Puritans when their protector in England had passed away, a defender of Protestantism whose learning and competency none could question, an Augustinian whose varied gifts Laud and his followers might envy but could not outvie, and dared not contemn.

The king's eldest son, Henry, Prince of Scotland and Prince of Wales, a young man of high spirit and great promise, in sympathy with all that was earnest and good, the one real ornament of his father's court, was cut off by a mysterious illness in 1611. Like that son of Jeroboam, in whose heart some good thing was found, he was taken away, to the grief of all good men, in those

anxious times. His removal dashed their cherished hopes, that a happy solution of questions pending in Church and State which it was evident could not now be long deferred might by his means have been attained and the hold of the Stuart dynasty on the affections of the English people mightily strengthened. The marriage of his eldest sister to the Protestant Elector Palatine, the prospect of which had cheered him in his last hours, and the consequences of which were ultimately to be so much more blessed to the nation than even he could then anticipate, was celebrated soon after his death, and in some measure lightened the gloom of that event. It increased the interest of the people in the fortunes of the foreign Protestants, and had the king only shared their spirit its more immediate consequences to the Protestants at home and abroad, and to the Stuart dynasty, would have been more blessed still.

The throne at the death of James passed to his younger son Charles,—a prince in character more noble, chivalrous, and high-minded than his father, but withal inheriting in aggravated form his despotic principles, favouritism, duplicity, and fondness for kingcraft. His father in his vanity would have him wedded to a Popish princess, whose unquiet, intriguing spirit wrought him only less harm with his people than her superstitious religiosity was sure to do.

James had got on ill with his parliaments, Charles got on worse with his—the House of Commons being resolute for redress of grievances in Church and State. Determined to assert his prerogative and yield up nothing to the popular wishes, he in 1628 dissolved his parliament, and endeavoured for twelve years to govern without the advice of the Houses. To do this he had to arrogate increased power to his Privy Council, to resort to various questionable devices in order to raise supplies, and to surrender himself to the guidance of able but unscrupulous men, who thought to carry out in England the policy Richelieu had pursued with success in France, and make their master absolute. They were unscrupulous, perhaps, rather than unprincipled, but their great principle was, that if the end of good government was attained, it mattered little what were the means used to attain it,—little how prerogative was stretched, or ancient liberties were invaded; little how the spirit of the constitution was violated if any semblance of respect for the letter of it could be preserved. They were generally men of pure lives and by no means destitute of high purposes, generous impulses, or genial manners. But, like their master, they lived in isolation, and were unconscious of the strength of the forces that were ranging themselves against them. They were committed to a dangerous game in which success

meant ruin to the liberties of their country, both civil and religious,—a despotism more abject than that of the most despotic of the Tudors,—while failure meant ruin to their master, to themselves, and all associated with them. To the gentle and tolerant, yet thoroughly Protestant Abbot succeeded in the see of Canterbury, the resolute, untiring, overbearing Anglo-Catholic Laud, who even as Bishop of London had been chief counsellor in Church affairs during Abbot's declining years. Laud was personally blameless in life, vigilant in the discharge of duty, earnestly religious according to his light, devoted to his sovereign, almost the only one of his trusted counsellors who was above taking a bribe or using his power for purposes of mere favouritism or self-aggrandisement; but narrow-minded, unscrupulous, haughty, by no means free from irascibility and vindictiveness, blindly ritualistic, and cruelly despotic.[1] For years he was the king's most confidential adviser in State as well as in Church affairs. He sought and found able and unscrupulous coadjutors in the work of 'harrying' Puritans out of the Church and constitutionalists out of the State, setting up, in lieu of their ideal of regulated freedom, the system to which he himself gave the name of THOROUGH,—thorough absolutism in the

[1] 'In the dull immobile face, the self-satisfied mouth, the rheumy obstinate eyes, can be read as in a book the explanation of his character and the tragedy of his end.'—*Edinburgh Review.*

State, thorough despotism in the Church. He virtually proscribed and stigmatised as Puritanism the old Augustinian doctrines which his predecessor not only tolerated, but approved, and for which the House of Commons so resolutely contended. He used the powers of his high office and of the Courts of Star-Chamber and High Commission with a rigour and savagery unknown before, condemning to life-long imprisonment, or to cruel mutilations, or ruinous fines men whose offences did not justify such extreme proceedings, and meting out to grave divines, practised lawyers, physicians, and scholars, punishments till then reserved for the lowest class of felons and sowers of sedition.

The indignities perpetrated on Leighton, Prynne, Burton, and Bastwick are well known, and the liberation of these sufferers from their long imprisonment, and the exhibition of their mutilated faces raised to its height the popular indignation against Laud and his accomplices. Attempts have been made even in our own day to mitigate the disgust and indignation their treatment still awakens by questioning whether the sentence in its full extent was executed in each case, and whether it was not pronounced and the fines imposed[1] rather *in terrorem*, than with the

[1] It has been concluded that the fines imposed were seldom exacted, as they are not entered in the Exchequer books as being paid. But considering how common it was to make gifts of such casualities to court favourites, it would require some further

deliberate intention of being carried out to the letter. But it is a matter of comparatively minor importance whether Leighton lost one ear or both, whether he had to stand in the pillory and to endure branding and scourging on one occasion or two. The natural feeling will still be what was so well expressed in later years by that son whose boyish letters, found in his father's study, were by a refinement of cruelty used in evidence against him.[1]

The Archbishop's argument in vindication of the course he followed was ingenious, if not ingenuous: that harm—serious harm—was being done to religion by the differences so long tolerated in regard to minuter matters of ritual and church arrangement, and still more by the embittered pamphlets against the hierarchical government of the Church, and the persistent obtruding

evidence than the negative one that the fines are not entered in the Exchequer books to prove that they were not meant to be exacted from the unfortunate men, so far as the means they possessed could be got at. In fact, from what we know of the venality of many of the privy councillors and the attempts made by Bishop Williams when in trouble to secure their favour, we seem rather warranted to conclude that it was only a less costly matter to get a fine remitted than to pay it. The argument for disbelief of facts authenticated by contemporary testimony on the ground of omissions in the official records of these times may easily be carried too far. The Journals of the House of Commons (vol. ii. p. 124) certainly mention Leighton's fine and 'the cutting off his *ears*.'

[1] 'If that Persian prince could so prize his Zopyrus who was mangled in his service, how much more will this Lord esteem those who suffer *so* for him?'—*Sermon* on 2 COR. v. 20.

of those Augustinian or Calvinistic doctrines which erewhile had been generally received and freely taught in the universities and in the Church, and that there was no remedy for this but in absolute submission and unreserved obedience to the king, God's appointed vicegerent—and to the injunctions issued by him through his wise and trusty counsellors in regard to all these things. The course he followed, as Hallam so pertinently observes, 'could in nature have no other tendency than to give nourishment to the lurking seeds of disaffection in the English Church. Besides reviving the prosecutions for nonconformity in their utmost strictness . . . he most injudiciously, not to say wickedly, endeavoured by innovations of his own, and by exciting alarms in the susceptible consciences of pious men, to raise up new victims whom he might oppress. Those who made any difficulties about his novel ceremonies, or even who preached on the Calvinistic side, were harassed by the High Commission Court as if they had been actual schismatics. The resolution so evidently taken by the court to admit of no half conformity in religion . . . convinced many that England could no longer afford them a safe asylum. The state of Europe was not such as to encourage them to attempt settling on the Continent, though Holland received them kindly. But turning their eyes to the newly discovered regions beyond the Atlantic ocean, they

saw there a secure place of refuge from present tyranny, and a boundless prospect for future hope.

'They obtained from the Crown the charter of Massachusetts Bay in 1629. About 350 persons,[1] chiefly or wholly of the Independent sect, sailed with the first fleet. So many followed in the subsequent years that these New England settlements have been supposed to have drawn near half a million of money from the mother country before the civil wars. Men of higher rank than the first colonists . . . men of capacious and commanding minds formed to be the legislators and generals of an infant republic, were preparing to embark for America, [among them John Hampden and Oliver Cromwell,] when Laud, for his own and his master's curse, procured an order of Council to stop their departure. So far were these men from entertaining schemes for overturning the government at home, that they looked only to escape from imminent tyranny. But this in his malignant humour the Archbishop would not allow. Nothing would satisfy him but that they should surrender at discretion, soul and conscience, to his direction.'

That in fact was the issue now unmistakeably presented by him,—surrender of soul and conscience to his direction,—in matters not of

[1] Such is the number given by Hallam, but this is rather the number of Robinson's congregation in Holland than of that portion (about 100) which actually went over with 'The Mayflower.' For further references to this important event see Appendix, Note D.

ritual and ceremony only, but of vital Protestant doctrine too, which they believed to be founded on the Word of God, and to have been acknowledged by his own predecessors to be so. That in fact was what Puritanism with all its tenacity was being led on to resist.

Having after years of patient and untiring labour at last succeeded, outwardly at least, in moulding his own province and that of York substantially in accordance with his wishes, the Archbishop turned his thoughts to the other dominions of the King where Puritanism had been allowed freer scope or treated with greater indulgence, as if, while refusing a Cardinal's hat from Rome, he wished to be indeed *veluti papa alterius orbis*. By the aid of the talented but unscrupulous Wentworth, his trusted confidant and chosen instrument in the work of repression, he succeeded in 1634, in securing the adoption of a new and much more elaborate code of canons in Ireland, and in assimilating subscriptions there to those of the Church of England. By care in the appointment of bishops for the future, he no doubt hoped gradually to accomplish his purpose, and to root out the Puritans from that old refuge where they had so long found shelter, and were admitted to have done good service in upholding the Reformed faith among the old English settlers, and the new Scottish colonists. This trusted agent reports with

an apparent chuckle how adroitly he had managed to overreach the good Archbishop of Armagh, who wished to retain in their old honour the Irish Articles, while subscribing *hic et nunc* to the English, and who with all his learning and sound Protestantism was no match in diplomacy for either of these determined schemers.

Having succeeded thus far in Ireland, Laud turned his thoughts all the more wistfully to Scotland—now the last refuge of those he had so persistently hunted down, and still a stronghold of Puritanism, notwithstanding the changes which James in the interest of absolutism in Church and State had endeavoured, though with but partial success, to introduce in the government and ritual of the Church. A series of letters, printed by the late Mr. David Laing in the Appendix to his invaluable edition of Baillie's *Letters and Journals*, show what pains the English Primate took to draw reluctant Scotch bishops on to the use of their 'whites,' and to countenance more ornate services than had been in favour in Scotland ever since the Reformation. At length he resolved the time was come to provide them with stronger meat, and he thought the train had been well laid for the changes he contemplated; but as King James had said long before, 'he knew not the stomach of that people,' and perhaps he recked not what a great conflagration this train he had laid was to

light up. Their Liturgy or Book of Common Order, as Knox left it, or even as King James would have altered it, was regarded by him as no meet form for worshipping the Lord in the beauty of Holiness; their form of administering the holy communion, even if the act of kneeling were more generally enforced, was in the eyes of high churchmen sadly defective in important particulars; and their forms of conferring holy orders, even as revised under King James in 1620, were insufficient to convey a valid mission.[1] The king, he said (and he was always careful to put him in the forefront when enjoining or advising what he knew would be distasteful), was much troubled to hear of these sad blemishes in the Church of his baptism. He might quite competently have provided a remedy for them by his prerogative royal, *i.e.* of course, by the advice of Laud himself, who was really the keeper of his conscience and chief counsellor in affairs of State as well as of the Church, but he would rather that this were done with the concurrence of the bishops in Scotland. Thus partly by flattery, partly by threats, Spottiswoode, the wary primate of Scotland, and his

[1] 'In the admission to priesthood the very essential words of conferring orders are left out. At which his majesty was much troubled, as he had great cause, and concerning which he hath commanded me to write, that either you do admit of our Book of Ordination, or else that you amend your own in these two gross oversights.'—*Laud* to *Wedderburn*.

older colleagues among the bishops, were drawn or forced into courses of which their own deliberate judgment did not approve, and of which they had a sad presentiment that they would put in peril all that by 'canny convoyance' they had gained during the previous thirty or forty years.

No doubt Laud, when on his trial, insisted that all he aimed at was to insure uniformity with the Church of England, and the acceptance in their entirety of the English Prayer-book, Articles and Canons. But, even if it were literally so, he cannot be absolved from gravest responsibility. The men who urged a somewhat different course were the younger men, whom he had himself favoured and promoted, and who could have effected little with the king without his tacit or open acquiescence. And if changes were to be pressed at all, there was a good deal to be said in favour of the course they proposed, namely, that there should be certain differences allowed between the Liturgies of the two countries, and the Scots should not be asked ecclesiastically to bow their necks purely and simply to the yoke of England. There was a good deal to be said for it, that some of these differences should be concessions to their invincibly puritanic predilections, as the almost entire exclusion of the Apocrypha from the table of lessons, the uniform substitution of the word presbyter for priest, the adoption of the new

(authorised) English version of the Bible in the epistles, gospels, occasional versicles, and even in the prose Psalms intended to be read or chanted, the more especially, if others of them should be concessions (no doubt as moderate and in appearance as harmless as possible) to the Anglo-Catholic, and Romanising parties of which these hot-headed young men were pronounced adherents, and to foster whose tendencies was the real, if not avowed, object of this policy.[1]

A book of canons, in several respects more severe than the English—especially in prohibiting extemporary prayers, under pain of deprivation—was also prepared, and was authorised by royal authority, even before the Liturgy which it enjoined was published. Thus the train was laid and fired, and in one rash hour all that King James and King Charles had succeeded in imposing, all that Spottiswoode and his brethren had given their days to carry out, all that Laud and Wentworth had given their lives in pawn for, was put in jeopardy. Far different was the issue from that the reckless schemers had intended and expected. It was chiefly disastrous to their sovereign and themselves, spreading dismay and destruction through their own ranks, not through the ranks of their opponents. The English patriots and Puritans, in appearance at least, had

[1] See Appendix, Note E.

been cowed; those who had taken refuge in Ireland had been muzzled, and matters had indeed reached the last extremity. But the Scotch, whose stern persistence has never failed at such a crisis, proved equal to the occasion, and fairly turned the tide of battle. Their *præfervidum ingenium*, once fully roused, had a contagious influence on the friends of Protestant truth and Puritan order everywhere throughout the British dominions.

Over the events which then followed each other so rapidly in Scotland, and the marvellous revolution in which they issued, I must not linger. They are familiar to you all: the meetings in Edinburgh of peers, gentry, commoners and divines; the appointment of the Tables or committees by each of them; their remonstrances against the introduction of the new service-book; the rejection of their petitions and remonstrances; the attempt to introduce the obnoxious book, the tumult which the introduction of it occasioned in St. Giles' Kirk; the renewal of the Confession or Covenant originally approved by the king's father in 1581, with certain additions suited to the new crisis; the petition for a free and lawful General Assembly to determine the matters in controversy, the tardy compliance with the prayer of the petition and the suspension of the orders respecting the ill-omened book; the preparation for the Assembly, its actual meeting in the High

Kirk or Cathedral of Glasgow, its attempted dissolution by the king's Commissioner; its refusal to dissolve till the work for which it had been summoned was done; its trial and judgment of the bishops and their chief supporters, its declaration of the nullity of the Assemblies which had given a sort of sanction to the hierarchy, and its restoration of the old presbyterian government of the Church as it had been ratified by King James and his Parliament in 1592; the attempt of the king to accomplish by force what he had in vain striven to effect by policy and proclamations; his quailing when he saw the covenanting host on Dunse Law, consenting to treat with them, and promising them an Assembly and Parliament in which their grievances should be duly considered and redressed; the renewed outbreak of hostilities when neither Assembly nor Parliament was found compliant with his wishes,—the refusal of his English Parliament at last brought together again—and known ever since as the short Parliament—to vote a subsidy for the expenses of the war, and the readiness of the English Convocation,—the notorious Convocation of 1640—to do so; the march of the covenanting army into the north of England, the successes it gained, and the permission granted it to winter there; the despatch of Scottish Commissioners to London to conclude a new treaty, and the friendly

relations then established between them and the leading Puritans of the south—all these important events, following each other almost with the suddenness of a dream, are narrated at length in the commonest histories, and are familiarly known to all who are acquainted in any measure with the story and fortunes of the Kirk.

Ere the negotiations with the Scotch could be brought to a conclusion Charles had been constrained by the necessities of his position to call another Parliament, which has become famous in all succeeding time as the Long Parliament. It was summoned for the 3d November 1640, on which day Charles once more occupied the throne of his ancestors, surrounded by his peers. 'The Bishops clad in rochet and chimere,' to use the words of Dr. Stoughton, 'once more occupied their old benches, and the Speaker of the House of Commons in florid diction congratulated the monarch on the prosperity of his realms. Outwardly, the Church like the State looked strong, but an earthquake was at hand destined to overturn the foundations of both.' A storm which had been long gathering was now to burst in pitiless fury, and sweep away abuses which had defied every effort made to reform them. In my next Lecture I shall have much to say of the doings of this eventful parliament.

LECTURE IV.

PREPARATION FOR AND SUMMONING OF THE WESTMINSTER ASSEMBLY.

IN my last Lecture I gave you a sketch of the history of Puritanism under the earlier Stuart kings, up to the meeting of the Parliament which has since been by universal consent designated the Long Parliament. It met on the 3d November 1640, and continued till it was forcibly dissolved by Cromwell in 1652. It was brought together again after the death of the Protector, to resume its interrupted work, but failed to secure its permanence. On 6th November 1640, the Commons, following a precedent set in several previous parliaments, appointed a grand Committee of religion consisting of all the members of the House, and this not as a mere formality but with instructions to meet from week to week for serious business. Various petitions[1] were presented by the patriots and Puritans outside to quicken the zeal of their friends within the House for reform-

[1] E 159, *Speeches and Passages of this great and happy Parliament, etc.*, p. 161, 433, 436.

ation, and in particular, one signed by about 15,000 citizens of London, known as the Root and Branch petition, from the expression occurring in its prayer, that the hierarchy might be abolished 'with all its dependencies, roots and branches.' A counter petition was presented affirming that episcopal government, as it is in itself the most excellent government, so it is the most suitable . . . to the civil constitution and temper of this state, and therefore praying it may 'always be continued and preserved in it, and by it, notwithstanding the abuses and corruptions which in so long a tract of time through the errors or negligence of men have crept into it.' The petitions were duly considered, and procedure taken on them without delay, though not at once to the extent the root and branch petitioners had desired. Nineteen grievances were tabulated, and evidence in support of them adduced in Committee, and a report thereon was presented to the House. Soon after the House of Lords, though far less under puritan influence than the Commons, also appointed a Committee to take into consideration all innovations in the church 'concerning religion.' The Committee consisted of ten bishops and twenty lay peers, under the presidency of Dr. Williams, Bishop of Lincoln and Dean of Westminster, who, like many other victims of Laud's oppression, had just been released from prison. It had power 'to

send for what learned divines their Lordships shall please for their better information.' The divines named expressly by the House were Archbishop Ussher, Dr. Prideaux, soon after made Bishop of Worcester, Dr. Ward, Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, Dr. Twisse of Newbury, and Dr. Hackett. Those added by the Committee were Drs. Sanderson, Holdsworth, Brownrigg, Featley, Burgess, White, Marshall, Calamy, and Hill—all sound Protestants, and men of moderate views—whose names appear subsequently in the list of the Assembly of Divines. The Conference of the Lords' Committee with these divines lasted for six days, during which they had solemn debates in the famous Jerusalem Chamber, and were always entertained by Williams 'with such bountiful cheer as became a bishop.' First they took into consideration the recent innovations of doctrine, and it was complained that all the tenets of the Council of Trent, had by one or other been preached and printed except those regarding the king's supremacy, which the state had made it treasonable [to question]; that good works were made to co-operate with faith for justification; that private confession, enumerating particular sins [to a priest] was inculcated as needful to salvation, that the oblation of the elements in the Lord's Supper was held to be a true sacrifice; that prayers for the dead, monastic

vows, Arminian and Socinian errors, were inculcated. Secondly, the Committee inquired into matters of conformity [to the ritual] and discovered that candlesticks were placed in parish churches on the altars so called, that canopies with curtains, in imitation of the veil before the Holy of Holies, were drawn around the altar; that a *credentia* or side table was made use of during the Lord's Supper; that a direct prayer was forbidden before the sermons, [where aforetime the minister had been at liberty to pray extempore, or use a precomposed prayer of his own, instead of, or in addition to the bidding prayer,] and that ministers were forbidden to expound at large the catechism to their parishioners, [and enjoined simply to teach them its very words]. And thirdly, they consulted about the Book of Common Prayer; whether some legendary Saints ought not to be expunged from the Calendar, the Apocryphal chapters from the lessons, and some things from the rubrics and offices of baptism, marriage, and burial.[1]

[1] The following additional statement made by Dr. Hill—the last-named of the consulted divines—in his sermon before the House of Commons on 1st July 1642, goes as near to the heart of the matter as an earnest Puritan could wish, and yet it might all have been indorsed by the most conservative reformers. He compares the recent state of England to that of Jerusalem at the time when Ezekiel in vision saw the image of jealousy set up in the temple of the Lord, and thus enumerates the corruptions which had been suffered and should be removed: '1st, In the schools of the prophets, the nurseries of the church, do not petitions inform you that divers have there chaffered away truth for errors? Were

The Committee sat till the middle of May, when it broke up without concluding anything. Laud, by that time in confinement, looked on its appointment with alarm, but moderate men like Lord Falkland viewed it with favour, and thought that had it continued its labours, it might have been the means of effecting many needed reforms, perhaps of saving the church and the monarchy. But what the issue would have been, says Fuller, is only known to Him who knew what the men of Keilah would have done with David had he remained among them till Saul came down. It was the last chance for the moderate men ere the

Whitaker and Reynolds then *in vivis*, they would blush to see Bellarmine and Arminius justified by many, rather than confuted. 2d, Remnants of former corruptions left in cathedral churches . . called mother churches, but they have rather proved step-mothers, engrossing the maintenance which should provide the word of truth for other souls. What pity it is that cathedral societies which might have been colleges of learned presbyters, for the feeding and ruling city churches, and petty academies to prepare pastors for neighbour places, should be so often sanctuaries for non-residents, and nurseries to so many drones! 3d, Cast your eyes on the hundreds of congregations in the kingdom where millions of souls are like to perish for want of vision; truth is like to perish from among them, by soul-destroying non-residents, soul-poisoning innovators or soul-pining dry-nurses. 3. Improve your power to help forward the word of truth, that it may run and be glorified throughout the land: 1st, Provide that every congregation may have an able trumpet of truth; 2d, especially that great towns may have lectures—markets of truth; 3d, afford any faithful Paul and Barnabas encouragement, yea power, if Sergius Paulus desire to hear the word of God, to go and preach, though Elymas the sorcerer should be unwilling. Such ambulatory exercises have brought both light and heat into dark and cold

Revolution attained its full height, and the chance was thrown away by the imprudence or panic of the Bishops, who were strongly represented on the Committee. The tide was now sweeping in with full force and bearing all before it. Strafford and Laud had been impeached and committed to the Tower. The former was speedily attainted and beheaded, the latter was left to languish for a time in that durance to which he had consigned many quite as worthy men. The Irish rebellion had broken out, and deeds of fiendish cruelty had been perpetrated against the unoffending Protestants—deeds which only savages or madmen could have

corners; 4th, What if there be some evangelical itinerant preachers sent abroad upon a public stock to enlighten dark countries?'

The last proposal is especially worthy the notice of those who think that the idea of the evangelistic mission of the church is a discovery of the 19th century, instead of being one which has cropped up generally in periods of earnest revival, and notably in that with the history of which we are now concerned. Even before this sermon was preached there was exhibited in the High Court of Parliament (E. 181, No. 26), a petition of W. C[astell], . . . for the propagation of the Gospel in America and the West Indies, which petition was approved by seventy able English divines, (including among others the names of Brownrigg, Sanderson, Featly, Stanton, Caryl, Calamy, Byfield, White, Marshall, Burroughs, Cawdrey, Whitaker, etc.) also by Mr. Alexander Henderson and some other worthy ministers of Scotland, (including Blair, Baillie, Gillespie, etc.). Extracts from this remarkable petition will be found in Appendix, Note E. Nay even an additional endowment scheme was propounded about the same time, and there issued from the press a pamphlet (E. 179) entitled *Proposals for Good Works*, urging *inter alia* the provision of additional maintenance for ministers and lecturers, and the erection and endowment of new churches in the over-grown parishes in the suburbs of London.

devised and executed. The Scotch Commissioners were on the spot, urging on those whose old horror of Popery had been intensified by the recent massacre, to get quit of every so-called remnant of Popery in their Service-book, and of every trace of it in their doctrinal teaching and church constitution, and finally suggesting that a larger and more formal meeting of divines should be speedily called to accomplish these things, and, if it might be, to undertake the grander mission of drawing up common standards for the churches of the three kingdoms, and of bringing them into closer and more kindly relations with each other.[1] They themselves had felt that even in Scotland they must not fall back purely and simply on the *status quo*, as it existed before the recent innovations were pressed on them, content with their old

[1] E. 157, No. 2, *Arguments given in by the Commissioners of Scotland unto the Lords of the treaty, persuading conformity of church government as one principal means of a continued peace between the two nations*, 1641. 'Our desires concerning unity of religion and uniformity of church-government as one especial means to conserve peace in his Majesty's dominions.' With many professions that they do not wish to dictate to another free, independent, and larger kingdom in such a matter, they yet urge with all possible earnestness those considerations which should persuade to this. 'It is to be wished that there were one Confession of Faith, one form of Catechism, one Directory for all the parts of the public worship of God . . . and one form of church-government in all the churches of his Majesty's dominions. . . This doth highly concern his Majesty and the weal of his dominions, and without forcing of consciences seemeth not only possible but an easy work . . .We do not presume to propound the form of government of the church of Scotland as a pattern for the church of England, but do only

Confession and Catechisms, and Book of Common Order, but that further safeguards must be devised and additional securities taken against the danger of any recurrence to that policy which had wrought them such havoc and woe.

They were already indeed looking to Henderson to lead them in the preparation of new standards; but he, either from the felt difficulties of the task, or from his intense desire to draw into closer union all to whom the cause of Protestant truth, and constitutional liberty, in Church as well as State, was dear, preferred that the work should be done on a wider theatre and grander scale than Scotland could offer. All I know of the history of this great man inclines me to believe that if there was a truly patriotic leader among them, one more free from narrowness and provincialism than another, or more prepared to allow free play for considerable diversities of thought and modes of administration in a com-

represent in all modesty these few considerations according to the trust committed unto us.' These considerations in brief were (1), that their government was the same as that of the reformed generally,—Beza's testimony in its favour being quoted; (2) yet they had all along been harassed by the bishops of England; (3) The reformed churches hold their government to be *jure divino*, while most of those who plead for episcopacy grant that it is only *jure humano;* (4) The church of Scotland was bound by covenant to her form, while England was perfectly free; (5) Thus 'will the design of King James be carried out in a *legitimate* way, and the king not only have peace and his due place in all the churches of his own dominions, but his greatness shall be enlarged abroad by his becoming the head of all the Protestants in Europe.'

prehensive Presbyterian Church, it was he,—in fact that the closer union of the churches in Britain was chiefly valued by him as a step toward securing the closer union of all the Reformed Churches. But his noble ideas were at times dwarfed and pared down; sometimes by the blindness and narrowness of lesser men among his own countrymen, sometimes by the jealousies aroused against him in the south as an alien and a Scot, and even he was but dimly conscious of the immense difficulty of the task before him, arising from the divided state of opinion in England, and the bitter animosities of the various parties to each other. Already in the year 1640 it had begun to be felt and expressed that the friends of the Reformation in both countries must make common cause if they would hope to succeed in securing it against the insidious policy of Laud and his abettors. In a letter, brought down by Henderson to the Scottish General Assembly, from a number of 'their gracious brethren of the ministry at London and about it,' the expression had been used that 'the Churches of England and Scotland seemed to be embarked in the same bottom, to sink or swim together;' they had the same enemies, and must unite in defence against their assaults. In the Grand Remonstrance which the House of Commons began to prepare in the autumn of 1641, and had finished before the first

of December, they declared that while they had no wish 'to abolish all church-government and leave every man to his own fancy for the service and worship of God, or to let loose the golden reins of discipline,' they yet desired that some changes should be made on the arrangements previously subsisting, and that there might be 'a general Synod[1] of the most grave, pious, learned and judicious divines of *this island* (not of England only), assisted by some from foreign parts professing the same religion with us, to consider all things necessary for the peace and good government of the Church.' If they still hesitated to

[1] 'We are poisoned in many points of doctrine, and I know no antidote, no recipe, for cure but one—a well-chosen and well-tempered Synod and God's blessing thereon: this may cure us; without this, in my poor opinion, England is like to turn itself into a great Amsterdam, and unless this council be very speedy the disease will be above the cure.'—*Speech of Sir Edward Deering* (E. 197, p. 105). About the same time appeared—*Heads or Reasons for which a General Council ought to be called together in England.* The reasons were that (1) Matters of chief debate necessary to be decided (lest atheism and libertinism increase) may be cleared; (2) Fundamentals of Christian truth and faith may be fully and invincibly settled by common consent; (3) The public profession of divine worship may be brought to some religious uniformity so far as is expedient for the amiable correspondence of several churches one with another and so fit for the edification of all Christians; (4) The means of propagating the gospel and kingdom of Christ towards those that are yet in darkness may be agreed upon and set apart for the advancement of God's glory' (E. 206, No. 14). In E. 170 various petitions are printed, praying for the calling of an Assembly of Divines of the three kingdoms to explain the doctrine and reform the government of the Church, that truth 'may hew out a way to peace and unity.'

give more definite expression to the wish which lay nearest to the heart of Henderson that Scotland should be formally invited to send deputies to the Synod and its purpose be enlarged, that Common Standards might be prepared by it for the churches of the three kingdoms, it is clear that by this time they had resolved the Assembly should be something more than a mere English Synod, something like what Cranmer long before had so eagerly desired. If what was resolved on by it should be enacted in the first instance for England only, it was meant it should be so after counsel with others and should form a model which other churches might view with favour as fitted for the guidance of a thoroughly reformed church, and likely to conduce to more intimate and friendly relations among them all. But open expression had been given to the wish that Scotland should take formal part in the proposed Assembly at latest in the communication addressed by them to the General Assembly which met in July 1642. For in reply to that communication the Assembly ventured to refer to what Scotland had done, in earlier and in more recent times, to bring about a closer union between the reformed churches, and 'anew urged on their English brethren that the work of reformation should begin with uniformity of church-government.' There was no hope, in their opinion, of unity in religion or of one Con-

fession of Faith, one form of worship, and one Catechism, till there was one form of ecclesiastical government. They accepted the invitation given, and assured the Parliament that they would gladly do their part in this great crisis, and indeed had already appointed Commissioners to prosecute the work of uniformity with England and to endeavour to agree upon Common Standards for the churches of both kingdoms. The views of the Scotch gained the powerful support of Pym, in an able speech he made on 30th September at a Conference[1] of the two Houses for union of the three kingdoms in one Directory or Form of Prayer, Catechism, etc., and that able and judicious divines, not only from Scotland but also from other reformed churches, should be asked to join the Assembly. Several months before this date the Houses had actually begun to make arrangements for the meeting of the proposed Synod or Assembly of Divines. A 'gracious message' (E. 290) had come from the king, 14th February 1641, intimating that 'because his Majesty observes great and different troubles do arise in the hearts of his people concerning the government and liturgy of the Church, his Majesty is willing to declare that he will refer the whole consideration to the wisdom of his Parliament which he desires them to enter into speedily.' This almost

[1] Journals of House of Commons, vol. ii. p. 789.

necessitated the Parliament calling such an assembly of divines as they had been contemplating. Accordingly, on the 19th April 1642, the House of Commons ordered that the names of such divines as shall be thought fit to be consulted with in the matter of the Church be brought in to-morrow morning. On the following morning the divines recommended for nine of the English counties, and on succeeding days those for the rest of the counties, as also for the city of London, the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and the Channel Islands, were approved; and on the 25th the list was deemed completed. Two were appointed for each county in England, for each of the Universities and for the Channel Islands, one for each county in Wales, and four for the city of London. The general opinion has been that the divines were recommended by the members of Parliament representing each county and the boroughs within it (the House in one or two instances, however, insisting on a vote being taken on the names proposed), and the balance of evidence seems to me to favour that opinion. It seems likely that some further communication had been made to the king before the 9th of May, when the first bill for calling the Assembly was formally brought into the House or before it passed the third reading; for, as I have said elsewhere, 'in a pamphlet bearing date 16th May 1642

and entitled, "His Majesty's resolution concerning the establishment of religion and church-government," it is stated that he "hath consented that the main matters of difference which have occasioned all these distractions shall be framed and discussed by a number of grave, wise, and religious divines which shall be thought fit by the Houses of Parliament: *every county electing two* for this so grave and weighty a business, that so all things being according to God's true Word scanned and examined by the judicious and religious judgments of these worthy persons the truth may appear; light and instruction may be given unto authority, and by their power an uniformity of government and worship agreeable to God's Word may be settled in the Church.' This resolution of his Majesty does not seem to have been persevered in, or to have borne any practical fruit,—the fortune of war being then in his favour, and the counsels of the more moderate of his advisers being overborne. The bill, after passing the House of Commons, was amended in the House of Lords by the addition of fourteen divines named by the Upper House. These were generally moderate or conservative men; several of them were royalists, and one a pronounced Arminian.

The list was forthwith published and has appended to it the following significant declaration by the Houses, of date 9th April 1642: 'The Lords

and Commons do declare that they intend a due and necessary reformation of the government and liturgy of the Church, and to take away nothing in the one or other but what shall be evil and justly offensive or at least unnecessary and burthensome: And for the better effecting thereof speedily to have consultation with godly and learned divines: And because this will never of itself attain the end sought therein, they will therefore use their utmost endeavours to establish learned and preaching ministers with a good and sufficient maintenance throughout the whole kingdom, wherein are many dark corners and miserably destitute of the means of salvation, and many poor ministers without necessary provision.'[1] They, as well as the ministers, had set their hearts on something higher and better than any change in the external forms of government and worship as necessary to insure the reformation they desired, and the reclamation of the careless, the ignorant, and the godless. They believed the consciences of such could only be effectually reached by the earnest preaching of the gospel salvation—not by any mechanical drilling in forms, however venerable and imposing.

The bill as amended had passed both Houses by the first of June, and only waited the king's assent to make it law, and insure the meeting of the Assembly in the following month. The king's

[1] E. 144, and also 146.

assent being withheld, a second and a third bill were brought in before the close of the year; but all was in vain, for the king would not pass either of them. At last, as Mr. Masson tell us, 'hopeless of a bill that should pass in the regular way . . . the Houses resorted in this as in other things to their peremptory plan of *ordinance* by their own authority. On 13th May 1643 an Ordinance for calling an Assembly was introduced in the Commons, which Ordinance after due going and coming between the two Houses reached its maturity on the 12th June, when it was entered at full length on the Lords' Journals.' It was printed on the 13th and again on 20th June. The Ordinance is given at length in most editions of the Confession of Faith, and I need not occupy your time by quoting it here, as in its final form it is reprinted and prefixed to these lectures, along with a full list of the members, and a somewhat more detailed account of them than is there supplied.

The purposes for which the Ordinance declares that the Assembly was called were 'for settling of the government and liturgy of the Church of England, and for vindicating and clearing of the doctrine of the said church from false aspersions and interpretations as should be found most agreeable to the Word of God, and most apt to procure and preserve the peace of the church at home, and nearer agreement with the Church of

Scotland and other Reformed churches abroad.' It authorises the members to discuss such of these matters as shall be proposed to them by both or either of the Houses of Parliament, but prohibits them, without consent of the Houses, from divulging the same by printing, writing, or otherwise. It provides that Dr. Twisse of Newbury shall be Prolocutor, that a sum of four shillings a day shall be allowed to each of them to defray their expenses, and that all and every of them shall be free of any penalty for non-residence or absence from their cure; and finally, that they shall not 'assume or exercise any jurisdiction, power, or authority ecclesiastical whatsoever, or any other power whatsoever, other than is herein particularly expressed.'

On account of the concluding restrictions some have doubted whether the Westminster Assembly was really entitled to the name of a Synod ecclesiastical at all. But it may be said in reply to their doubts, 1st, That it was at least entitled to rank as an advisory Synod of the kind specified in its own Confession of Faith, chap. xxxi. § 2; as much so, at any rate, as the ministers who, at the request of the Scottish Parliament, drew up the Old Scotch Confession and the First Book of Discipline in 1560-1, or the divines who, in Edward VI.'s reign, drew up the Forty-two Articles; 2d, That in respect of the limitations imposed by the Ordinance, it only resembled an

English Convocation which cannot proceed to business without the sanction of the crown, nor claim authority for its decisions till they have been approved by the sovereign. Even in regard to the method adopted in selecting the members of the Assembly it did not want an able defender in the author of a remarkable treatise entitled '*Consilium de reformandâ Ecclesiâ Anglicanâ*.'[1] This author maintained at considerable length, that, while in ordinary circumstances the clergy were rightly left to elect their own representatives in Synods, yet in cases where the clergy were largely corrupted, and the object was to reform the corruptions that had crept in among them, it was quite competent for the magistrate in the exercise of his own judgment to select the members from the sounder part of the clergy,[2] and that in circumstances such as those in which the English Church then was, the magistrate, in claiming to

[1] Suggestum amplissimo cœtui authoritate augustissimi Consessus Regis et Regni ordinum, indicto, ad consultandum de rebus gravissimis in religione.—Londini 1643 (E 56, 12).

[2] 'Cum enim illustrissimi senatores observassent Archiepiscopi Laudi ejusque sectatorum artibus non in uno loco Angliæ suffectos viros de religione male sentientes et Papismo addictos prudenter cavent ne ab ejusmodi deputantibus ejusdem farinæ deputati subnascantur. . . . An altaricola qui citari debet ad Synodum, rationem redditurus malesanæ doctrinæ in vulgus a se sparsæ, allegabitur ut Synodi fiat membrum?' The folly of the other way had been sufficiently evinced by the results of the recent and then exploded Convocation of 1640. The course followed, the author has shown, was not unprecedented, and therefore not so revolutionary as some would make it.

choose the members claimed nothing but what was consonant with right reason, and clearly confirmed by usage, and what had actually been practised in the reigns of three most powerful sovereigns, Edward VI., Elizabeth, and James I. The author of this treatise evidently belonged to the most conservative school of reformers, and cautioned the Parliament to have regard to the best interests of the country, and not to attempt changes which the nation generally was not ripe for, and would not permanently bear. On this ground he ventured to advocate the continuance of a liturgy with some provision for free prayer, and of a moderate Episcopacy, in which the bishop should not be of a different order but only of a different degree from the presbyters,—should be their mouth or executive rather than their head or sovereign ruler,—and should neither ordain, nor depose, nor excommunicate without their assent. He did not favour the introduction of lay elders.

More than one treatise advocating similar views was published soon after the Assembly had begun its sittings, notably one by Bishop Hall on a lower platform than that he assumed in the Smectymnuan controversy. But whether for good or evil, the question of the continuance or discontinuance of Episcopacy may be said to have been virtually determined by the Parliament in the preamble of the Ordinance calling them together, and never

really to have been a subject of formal debate in the Assembly itself.

With all acknowledged limitations of its scope, however, the Westminster Assembly was in fact *a great 'power* or institution in the English realm in those unsettled times—existing side by side with the Long Parliament, in constant conference and co-operation'[1] with its leaders, generally influencing or moulding ecclesiastical legislation, and treated with unusual deference even when its remonstrances were unacceptable—maintaining a good understanding between the Parliament and the earnest citizens of London, who were its real arm of strength, and gaining and retaining a moral influence over the pious part of the people, which neither Cromwell's temporary supremacy nor the more lasting persecutions of the second Charles should suffice entirely to destroy. Taking it all in all, it was to leave its mark so deeply and permanently on a large portion of our Anglo-Saxon race, that, as Professor Masson has justly observed, it 'ought to be more interesting to them still than the history of the Councils of Constance, Basle, Trent, or any other of the great ecclesiastical Councils more ancient and œcumenical, about which we still hear so much.'[2]

In one important respect, as I have said else-

[1] *Life of Milton in connection with the history of his time*, vol. ii. p. 514.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 515.

where,[1] it resembled the celebrated council of Nicæa—the most ancient œcumenical of all. 'Not a few of its members had been honoured to suffer on account of the truths to which they clung, and many of them had the courage afterwards to brave suffering, ignominy, and penury rather than renounce their creed and their views of church polity and discipline. Nay, they may be said, by the very act of their meeting, to have put their livings, if not their lives, in jeopardy;' and so to have given the strongest possible proof of their deep sense of the necessity of the work to which, notwithstanding the prohibition of the king, and his mutterings of treason, they addressed themselves during these troubled years.

The Assembly was designed to include among its members adherents of all the chief parties among English Protestants, with the exception of that of Archbishop Laud, whose innovations and despotic government had been one main cause of the troubles that had arisen, both in church and state. Almost all the clerical members named upon it were in Episcopalian orders, most of them were graduates in Arts, not a few of them graduates in Divinity, either of Oxford or Cambridge. Three or four were bishops, five afterwards rose to be so, and several others were known to be favourable to the continuance of Episcopacy

[1] Introduction to *Minutes of Westminster Assembly*, p. xxxii.

and a liturgy, and some of them to side with the king rather than with the parliament. Many were known to favour Presbytery. A place was found among the members for some of the most prominent ministers of the French Church in England, for one of Dutch or German descent, for two or three Irishmen, and for some who, to avoid the persecutions of Laud, had left their native land for a time and acted as pastors to the congregations of English exiles and merchants in Holland. Invitations to send commissioners were addressed to the Church of Scotland, and, it is said also, to the congregational churches of New England.

If few of the royalist divines ventured to appear in their places, yet Dr. Featley and one or two more did attend pretty regularly for a time, and the doctor took a prominent part in the debates on the revision of the Thirty-nine Articles—debates probably as important in a doctrinal point of view as any that occurred at a later stage. If Ussher, the greatest of these divines, was 'conspicuous by his absence,' the Assembly at least gave the most unmistakeable proof of its high regard for him and of its earnest desire to comprehend within the reconstituted church those who shared his doctrinal views, by drawing its statements on so many of the most important doctrines from the Articles prepared by him in 1615 for the Church of Ireland.

Yet most various estimates have been formed of the merits of the divines and of the value of their work. Clarendon and several of the satirists of the age have spoken of them with contempt and scorn, and others have accorded them only faint praise. But Bishop Hall was not ashamed to address them as his *learned* and reverend brethren, nor the five dissenting brethren frankly to acknowledge their worth. Richard Baxter, who was perhaps as competent as any of their contemporaries to give an impartial verdict, does not hesitate to affirm that 'the divines there congregated were men of eminent learning and godliness, ministerial ability and fidelity; and being not worthy,' he modestly adds, 'to be one of them myself, I may the more freely speak that truth which I know, even in the face of malice and envy, that so far as I am able to judge by the information of all history . . . the Christian world since the days of the apostles had never a Synod of more excellent divines.' This, it has been well said by Dr. Stoughton, 'is high praise, but it comes nearer the truth than the condemnatory verdicts pronounced by some others. The Westminster divines had learning, scriptural, patristic, scholastical and modern, enough and to spare, all solid, substantial, and ready for use. . . . They had a clear firm grasp of evangelical truths. The godliness of the men is proved by the spirit of their writings

and by the history of their lives. Their talents and attainments even Milton does not attempt to deny.' Hammond admits the learning of many.

Hallam, no less competent a judge, admits that 'they were perhaps equal in learning, good sense, and other merits to any Lower House of Convocation that ever made a figure in England.' Indeed in two important respects we may say that they had the advantage of any Lower House. There were called in to the aid of the divines a number of the laymen distinguished among their fellows in Parliament as statesmen or scholars, and not unacquainted with Theology. And when under the Solemn League and Covenant the original purpose of the Assembly was extended there were associated with these English divines and laymen some of the most distinguished of the Scottish ministers and elders. Hence it is, I think, that their work has stood the test of time, and is still held in honour by the Presbyterian Churches.

As I have said elsewhere,[1] even the twenty names of special eminence with which a recent critic has credited them constitute a larger proportion of the whole than may at first sight appear, for they are the names of men who were regular in their attendance, and prominent in the discussions, and they form at least a third of those who

[1] *Minutes of Westminster Assembly*, p. xxxiii., etc., article 'Westminster Assembly' in Johnson's *Universal Cyclopædia.*

were so. But more may fairly be claimed for them and several of their companions than that critic is disposed to concede. Dr. William Twisse, the Prolocutor, was a man not only of subtle and speculative genius, but also of profound and varied learning. He was one of the most influential theologians of his day, held in honour by the Reformed Churches on the Continent as well as by those in Britain. Sir John Savile, who had sought the assistance of the ever memorable John Hales for his edition of Chrysostom, did not disdain to call in the aid of Twisse in preparing for the press Bradwardine's great work, *De Causa Dei contra Pelagium.* Bishop Hall—himself a royalist and resolute defender of the hierarchy —says of him, that he was 'a man so eminent in school divinity that the Jesuits have felt, and for aught I see, shrunk under his strength.' Yet with all his eminence he did not claim, nor, proud as his brethren were of him, did they consent to mould their Confession according to his peculiar views either as regards the order of the Divine decrees or the nature of justification, or as to the power of God to pardon sin without requiring any atonement for it. He had suffered greatly in the war from the royalist soldiers, and though Prolocutor of the Assembly, and held in honour by the Parliament, he died 'in great straits.'[1] Dr. Edward

[1] The satirists of the day are never weary of bantering the

Reynolds was a divine 'eloquent, learned, cautious,' and that may have been the reason why the Assembly devolved on a committee of which he was convener the adjusting of those much-maligned sentences in their Confession regarding predestination and preterition. He was one of the most active and influential members of the Assembly, and possibly we owe to him its directory for Thanksgiving after Sermon, as well as the General Thanksgiving added to the Book of Common Prayer after the Restoration. Dr. Edmund Calamy was a more liberal and cautious Calvinist still; and no one can read the minutes of the Assembly's debates on the extent of redemption without acknowledging that he was a genuine disciple of Ussher and Davenant, and feeling thankful that he and some others of the same school deemed it their duty to cast in their lot with their nonconformist brethren in 1662 when Reynolds and Wallis abandoned them. Lightfoot, Coleman, and Seaman were all distinguished oriental scholars, and Gataker was not only a distinguished Hebrew and Greek scholar, but also one of the first in Britain to write in defence of the opinion then

divines about their four shillings hire. But up to the time of Twisse's death this had been very irregularly paid, as also were the emoluments of the sequestrations they held in town. When some partial payments were made to the Assembly, Dr. Burgess and some others declined their share that there might be a little more for those in greater need.

much questioned, but now generally received, that the Greek of the New Testament was of a different character from that of the classical authors, and by its many Hebraisms, gave unmistakeable evidence for the nationality and training of the writers. He was the friend of Ussher and Selden, and after them was accounted the most learned man then in England. He was distinguished by the quaint richness of his style and the argumentative power of his controversial works. In the Antinomian Controversy, for his treatises on which he repeatedly received the thanks of the Assembly, Mr. Marsden says that he answered the leaders as Hooker answered his adversary, 'with the same profound love of truth, the same ponderous and varied learning, the same gentle spirit, . . . and the same devoted adherence to evangelical doctrine.' Arrowsmith, 'the man with the glass-eye,' and Tuckney, the kindly correspondent of Whichcot, Professors of Divinity at Cambridge, were not only clever college tutors, but, as several of their published works clearly indicate, men of high scholarship and considerable mental breadth, and force of character. With them must be conjoined Dr. Joshua Hoyle, the friend of Ussher, Professor of Divinity first at Dublin then at Oxford, admitted by Wood to have been 'profound in the faculty of divinity and in patristic learning,' and Dr. John Wallis, Savilian

Professor of Geometry at Oxford, whose attainments as a theologian and metaphysician were only cast into the shade by his greater attainments as a mathematician. He was the friend of Boyle, Gregory, and Newton, the untiring opponent of Hobbes and the Socinians, one of the authors as well as of the earliest expositors of the Shorter Catechism, and probably one of the last surviving officials of the great Assembly. The age was confessedly an age of great preachers. 'The pulpit of the metropolis,' as Marsden tells us, 'displayed a galaxy of light and genius such as it had never before, and perhaps has never since, exhibited. The printed sermons of the great Puritan preachers . . . sufficiently vindicate their reputation. They were no adventurers. They had been brought up in the Church of England; they were entitled to its best preferments; and they might have had them in their youth from Laud, in their grey hairs from Charles II., had not their own consciences forbidden.' In the first rank of these there fall to be numbered the following members of the Assembly:—Dr. William Gouge, 'the father of the London Puritan ministers,' and the author of a laborious commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews, who shunned promotion as eagerly as others seemed to court it, and yet on whose preaching Ussher and other scholars then congregated in the metropolis were pleased from

time to time to attend; Dr. Thomas Manton, the author of an equally laborious commentary on Psalm cxix., 'in whom clear judgment, rich fancy, and happy eloquence met;' Stephen Marshall, whose impressive eloquence is said to have secured him greater influence with the Long Parliament than ever Laud enjoyed with the Court of Charles; Calamy, who 'delighted in that experimental strain of discourse which ever touches the hearts of men,' and was greatly beloved by the merchant princes of the city; Palmer, 'gracious learned little Palmer,' as Baillie somewhat familiarly terms him, who could preach to purpose in French as well as in English, was the best catechist in England, and one of the most earnest and faithful of its college masters—to whom are now ascribed the 'Paradoxes' long attributed to Lord Bacon; Burroughes and Greenhill, 'the morning and the evening stars of Stepney;' Joseph Caryl, author of a great commentary on the book of Job, and long popular with the learned audience of Lincoln's Inn; and Dr. Thomas Goodwin, eminent as a theological writer and one of the most successful expository preachers of the age. These are not more shadowy to the cultured even yet than those our critic names, and in those anxious times many earnest spirits rejoiced in their light, and extolled them among preachers 'as the apple tree among the trees of the wood,' under whose

shadow they sat with great delight, and whose fruit they found sweet and pleasant to their taste. 'I could name,' says one who pleaded earnestly for them, though he did not cast in his lot with them, 'the Paul and the Apollos and the Peter that preached to the heart; the Barnabas and the Boanerges; the friends of the bridegroom that wooed and besought us and would not be denied till our souls had received Christ Jesus the Lord. Some of them are at rest in the Lord, and let their names be blessed, and others are in the cloud and storm and warfare, and to add bonds to their many afflictions is no small unkindness to religion.' To these, when the Solemn League and Covenant was entered into, there were added, as I said, the very *élite* of the Scottish ministers and elders:—Alexander Henderson, whose statesman-like abilities, sagacity, and culture, even royalists admit; Samuel Rutherfurd, one of their most impressive preachers and most learned divines, who was twice invited to a theological chair in Holland; George Gillespie, the prince of disputants, who, 'with the fire of youth, had the wisdom of age;' and the consequential, but much esteemed Robert Baillie, who has embalmed in graphic narrative both their serious debates and their lighter gossip; together with Johnstone of Warriston and the great Marquis of Argyll, who afterwards suffered on account of their principles; Loudon, the

Chancellor of the kingdom, and Chancellor of its principal university, the soldierly Meldrum, and the engaging young Lord Maitland, afterwards the confidant both of Sharp and Leighton. Robert Douglas, the silent, sagacious, masterful man, who was joined with them in commission, could not be spared from the duties of leadership at home, but he assisted and cheered them by his letters, maintained good understanding between them and the Church in Scotland, and in their absence came to occupy a place among his brethren almost as unique as that of Calvin among the presbyters of Geneva.

It was then no commonplace Assembly which the Parliament of England had indicted to meet at Westminster on 1st July 1643—no gathering of ignorant or imperfectly educated divines, of narrow-minded fanatics or one-ideaed enthusiasts, but of men fully competent for the work intrusted to them, and worthy of all confidence therein.

It included not a few who had already gained a name and fame for themselves, several who were yet to leave their impress on the age, or on posterity, and many who at least were to commend themselves and their work by holy, consistent, self-denying, laborious Christian lives. It was meant to be as comprehensive as the accepted theology of the Reformation would at all permit, as tolerant as the times would yet bear. If its members had

one idea more dominant than another it was not, as they are sometimes still caricatured, that of setting forth with greater one-sidedness and exaggeration the doctrines of election and preterition (for they did little more as to these mysterious topics than repeat what Ussher had already formulated), but that of setting forth the whole scheme of reformed doctrine in harmonious development in a form of which their country should have no cause to be ashamed in presence of any of the sister churches of the Continent, and above all in a form which would conduce greatly to the fostering of Christian knowledge and Christian life. That in some measure this idea was realised, impartial historians are now beginning to admit,[1] and we hope, in our remaining lectures, to show.

[1] 'It forms the most important chapter in the ecclesiastical history of England during the seventeenth century. Whether we look at the extent or ability of its labours, or its influence upon future generations, it stands first among Protestant councils.'—Schaff's *Creeds of Christendom*, vol. i. p. 728. See also Masson as already quoted, p. 115.

LECTURE V.

THE OPENING OF THE WESTMINSTER ASSEMBLY; ITS PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES WHILE ENGAGED IN REVISING THE ENGLISH ARTICLES OF RELIGION, AND THE SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT.

IN my last Lecture I continued my sketch of the history of English Puritanism from the meeting of the Long Parliament down to the meeting of the Westminster Assembly. I gave you a succinct account of the lengthened negotiations between the king and the two Houses of Parliament about the calling of the Assembly. I told you that it was finally summoned by an ordinance of the two Houses passed on the 12th and printed on the 13th, and again on the 20th, of June 1643, and that it was appointed to meet on the 1st of July ensuing. On the 24th of June two supplementary ordinances[1] were issued, the one appointing the

[1] 'It is this day ordered by the Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled, that the meeting of the Assembly of Divines with some members of both Houses of Parliament shall be on Saturday, the first of July 1643, at nine of the clock in the morning, in the chapel commonly called King Henry the Seventh his chapel, in the city of Westminster. Whereof all parties concerned are to take notice, and to make their appearance accordingly.' 'It is this

meeting to be at nine o'clock on the morning of the day named, the other ordering prayers to be offered in all churches for the blessing of God on the Assembly.

Two days before this the meeting had been prohibited by a proclamation from the king at Oxford. It has not been my lot to meet with the proclamation itself, but I have seen the very full account given of it in *Mercurius Aulicus*—the Court paper of the day, and I subjoin the more important part of it. After a long and bitter preamble adverting to the many artifices which had been used by some factious persons to alter the whole frame and constitution of the Church, complaining of the unprecedented ordinance for calling an irregular Assembly of Divines, without his authority and against his liking, and speaking unworthily of those to whom a few years later he professed his willingness to submit, with a few additions, the decision of the question of church reform, he proceeds as follows: 'his Majesty considering that according to the laws of this kingdom

day ordered, etc., That all ministers in their several churches on Wednesday next at the public fast, and at all other times afterwards in their prayers before their sermons, shall earnestly and particularly pray for the special assistance and blessing of God upon the Assembly of Divines and others appointed to meet at Westminster on Saturday the first day of July next, to be consulted with by both Houses of Parliament on matters concerning religion. And that this order be forthwith printed and sent to all parish churches.' (E. 62, Nos. 1 and 2.)

no synod or convocation of the clergy ought to be called but by his authority, nor any canons or constitutions made or executed but by his Majesty's licence first obtained to the making of them, and his royal assent granted to put the same in execution, on pain that every one of the clergy doing the contrary and thereof convicted suffer imprisonment and make fine to the king's will, doth strictly inhibit and forbid all and every person named in that pretended Ordinance to assemble and meet together to the end and purpose there set down, declaring further the said Assembly (if they shall convene without his Majesty's authority) to be illegal, the acts thereof not to be binding on his subjects, and that he will proceed severely against all those who, after such a gracious warning, shall presume to meet together by colour of the said pretended Ordinance.' (E. 59, No. 24.) The proclamation was commanded to be published in all churches and chapels in England and Wales. It may be doubted if the command was extensively obeyed, but publicity was at once given to such a glaring breach of repeated professions and promises by the parliamentary paper of the day in the following half regretful, half contemptuous terms: Friday, June 30th: 'The reports from Oxford are, that a proclamation hath been published there to prohibit the Assembly of Divines here upon the 1st of next month, wherein, as it is said, they are

vehemently threatened to have all their ecclesiastical livings and promotions taken from them if they disobey these injunctions. Which if it be true we must not expect to have the Protestant religion either maintained or propagated from thence, since evil counsellors can so soon frustrate good promises for that purpose.' Thus the members named to be of the Assembly knew that it was at the risk of their liberty and livings, and under threat of that terrible penalty of *præmunire* that they resolved to obey the Ordinance of the two Houses.

Yet on July 1st, the day appointed for their assembling, a goodly number had the courage to meet together in the appointed place. Conforming to the custom of the English Convocation, in whose room they were virtually surrogated, they first met for divine service in Westminster Abbey, and both Houses of Parliament adjourned early in the forenoon that their members also might be present on the occasion. The following is the quaint notice of this meeting given in No. 25 of the newspaper already referred to: 'On Saturday last the Assembly of Divines began at Westminster according to the Ordinance of both Houses of Parliament, when Dr. Twist of Newbery in the County of Berks, their Prolocutor, preached on John xiv. and 18th, "I will not leave you comfortless, I will come unto you,"—a text pertinent to these times of sorrow, anguish, and misery, to raise up the droop-

ing spirits of the people of God who lie under the pressure of Popish wars and combustions.' (E. 59.) The chronicler forbears to relate any of the points of the said sermon, because he supposes it will be published in print for the satisfaction and comfort of all who may desire to read it, but to the annoyance and regret of posterity the sermon had either not been published or has now completely disappeared.[1] The writer then continues: 'The number that met this day were three score and nine, the total number being (including the members of both the Houses of Parliament, which are but thirty) one hundred and fifty-one, whereof if forty meet the first day, it maketh the Assembly valid according to the Ordinance.' Lightfoot, who

[1] The very day the Assembly met, however, a pamphlet was published with the title *The English Pope, etc.*, with an epistle to the reverend divines now convened by authority of Parliament, in which, after reference to the slanders of the royalists, they are addressed thus encouragingly: 'Be of good courage, ye that have the honour to be of this Assembly. Fear not the name of traitors while you give judgment for loyalty, nor the name of Anabaptists while you propugn piety, nor the name of schismatics while you settle unity. If they believed the calumnies they circulate against you, it would have been better they had forwarded your meeting than procured proclamation declaring it treason, but they do not but fear you will disappoint all. Be you therefore the more courageous for this, and if you cannot totally eradicate all those doctrines of division which the prelates have sowed among the good wheat, yet denounce against them and publish your detestation of them; and if you cannot yet erect a perfect form of discipline by reason of the secret wars made upon you and the sinews of authority withheld from you, yet present us with some models of it, that the world may see how far you are from affecting anarchy and confusion.' (E. 53, No. 13.)

probably was present at the opening of the Assembly, supplies the additional information that, besides the members of the two Houses and the divines named in the Ordinance, there was also a great congregation in the Abbey Church, and that after the service there all the members of Assembly present went into the gorgeous chapel of Henry VII. This place appointed for their meeting was the place where the Convocation of 1640, notorious for its forlorn attempt to carry out the policy of 'thorough' despotism in Church and State, had met. There the Ordinance was read and the names were called over according to the custom long observed in our Assemblies, with the results already indicated. Lightfoot further tells of 'divers speeches being made by divers'—doubtless, *inter alia*, with the view of following up what the Prolocutor had done to encourage the members in the great work to which they had been called notwithstanding the opposition with which they were threatened; and finally he adds that 'the Parliament not having as yet framed or proposed any work for the Assembly suddenly to fall upon, it was adjourned till Thursday following.' To show how intently the movement was watched from Oxford, I may add the notice of this day's proceedings contained in the court newspaper for Friday, July 7th: 'It was advertised this day that the Synod, which by the pretended Ordinance of the

two Houses was to begin on the 1st of July, was put off till the Thursday following, being the sixth of this present month, that matters might be prepared for them whereupon to treat, it being not yet revealed to my Lord Say, Master Pym, and others of their associates in the Committee for religion, what gospel 'tis that must be preached and settled by these new evangelists. Only it is reported that certain of the godly ministers did meet that day in the Abbey Church to a sermon, and had some doctrines and uses, but what else done, and to what purpose that was done, we may hear hereafter.' The day before this was published, the adjournment had been terminated. Certain carefully framed instructions and rules for regulating the procedure of the Assembly having, after consultation with some of the divines, been adopted by the Houses, were brought in and read. All of them indicate that serious business was meant, and freedom of discussion was to be protected to the utmost. They provide, *first:* that two assessors shall be joined to the Prolocutor to supply his place in case of absence or infirmity; *second:* that scribes shall be appointed to set down all proceedings, and these to be divines who are not of the Assembly, viz., Mr. Henry Roborough and Mr. Adoniram Byfield; *third:* that every member, at his first entry into the Assembly, shall make serious and solemn protesta-

tion not to maintain anything but what he believes to be truth in sincerity, when discovered unto him; *fourth:* that no resolution shall be given upon any question the same day wherein it is first propounded; *fifth:* that what any man undertakes to prove as necessary, he shall make good out of the Scriptures; *sixth:* that no man proceed in any dispute, after the Prolocutor has enjoined him silence, unless the Assembly desire he may go on; *seventh:* that no man shall be denied to enter his dissent from the Assembly and his reasons for it on any point after it has been first debated in the Assembly, and thence (if the dissenting party desire it) the same to be sent to the Houses of Parliament *by the Assembly*, not by any particular man or men in a private way, when either House shall require; *eighth:* that all things agreed on, and prepared for the Parliament, be openly read and allowed in the Assembly, and then offered as the judgment of the Assembly, if the major part assent; provided that the opinions of any persons dissenting and the reasons urged for their doing so, be annexed thereunto if the dissenters require it, together with the solutions (*i.e.* answers, as we now designate them), if any were given to the Assembly, of these reasons.[1] Possibly there may have been some talk also at this session of revising the Thirty-nine Articles. At least under date of July 11th the

[1] *Journals of the House of Commons*, vol. iii. p. 157.

London correspondent of *Mercurius Aulicus* reports this, though he mixes it up with the proceedings which took place on Saturday. 'It was this day certified that the ministers of their Assembly being met on Thursday, according to adjournment, fell presently upon the altering of the Thirty-nine Articles so solemnly agreed upon in the beginning of the reformation of this Church. . . . Notice of this being brought to the Lower House, caused it to be diversely spoken of; some wiser than the rest declared that it was not within the power of their commission to alter either the doctrine or the discipline of the church which had been formerly established.' But he errs in supposing that the Assembly anticipated the action of the Parliament. The Journals of the House of Commons distinctly show (vol. iii. p. 156) that directions had been issued by the Houses on *Wednesday* that it should begin consideration of the Articles.

Lightfoot has no entry in his journal in regard to the work of Friday; but from another source we learn that it was observed by the Assembly and the Houses as a fast—a season of humiliation, and prayer for Divine guidance and blessing on the work they were about to begin. As on the opening day there met in Westminster Abbey both Houses and the Assembly, and no doubt a large congregation. The preacher in the forenoon was Oliver Bowles, one of the oldest members of the

Assembly, and the author of a work *De Pastore Evangelico*, which was republished in Holland even after Baxter had put forth his famous treatise 'The Reformed Pastor,' to inflame his brethren in the ministry with something of his own consuming zeal. The sermon of Bowles was published under the title 'Zeal for God's House quickened,' and as a manifesto of the intentions and desires of the Houses and of the divines in their confidence, even its preface is noteworthy. 'Out of your vigilant care,' he says, addressing the members of the Houses, 'you have found out a way . . . to convene an assembly of grave and learned divines with whom you might advise concerning the settlement of doctrine, worship, and church-government. You saw cause which might move you so to do in respect, 1st, of those licentious spirits who took occasion as to vent their own fancies so to attempt anything in matter of doctrine and worship; 2d, in that for want of an established church-government we were, and still are, in danger to fall from a tyranny to an anarchy; 3d, in that evil-minded men, seeing no effectual means provided to suppress such variety of sects as did start up, were ready to censure you as the favourers of such opinions.' Then, after referring briefly and with approbation to their giving way for the admittance of divines of different judgments to be chosen as members of Assembly, and according liberty to them to ex-

press their several views, he proceeds thus to give his estimate of the importance of the work assigned to them: 'Is not your work a counterwork to that great and long-plotted design whereby Popery should have been readvanced,[1] God's saving truth been suppressed, his worship substantially corrupted or utterly destroyed? Is it not a work of the largest extent as that which concerns all other Reformed churches, whose happiness or misery will be involved in ours? Yea, ages to come will either bless or curse you as you shall follow or neglect the opportunity.' His sermon pointed, as the Puritan leaders had done in 1560 and again in 1603, to an earnest preaching ministry as the great want of the times, and enlarged, as became the author of the *De Pastore Evangelico*, on the manner in which such a ministry should strive to preach, almost as was done afterwards by the Assembly itself in its directory for preaching, 'zealously, compassion-

[1] No one could be more persistent than Laud in disclaiming all inclination towards reunion with Rome till it was other than it then was. 'But facts were too strong for him. The revival of "Catholic" principles was the signal for fashionable conversions. The Jesuits smiled approval, for they knew that their day was come. The queen's chapel and the chapels of foreign ambassadors were thronged with high-born ladies, sighing for readmission into the true fold. The stern and sincere Protestant, to whom ritualism was never anything but Popery in disguise, saw the liberties which the Smithfield martyrs had won being silently filched from him. He knew that there was another struggle before him, or the sticks were again growing which would form the fagots of new pyres.'—*Edinburgh Review* for October 1882.

ately, convincingly, feelingly, frequently, gravely.' (E. 63.) The sermon, all in all, is a noble one.

Matthew Newcomen, who preached in the afternoon of the same day, adverted, as became a Smectymnuan divine, to the preciousness of every grain of God's truth, every 'selvedge' of Christ's seamless robe, and affirmed 'he must have a heart more ignorant and unbelieving than the apostle's ἰδιώτης (1 Cor. xiv. 24) that should come in and be an ear-witness of your proceedings, and not worship God and report that God is in you of a truth. Verily I have often from my heart wished that your greatest adversaries and traducers might be witnesses of your learned, grave, and pious debates, which were able to silence, if not convert malignity itself.' (E. 63.) This day of prayer was but the first of many days similarly observed in these earnest anxious years. We may not venture to assert that, with all their care, no human infirmity was allowed to mingle with the simplicity of their waiting upon God to receive indications of His will. For in what crisis of the Church's fate dare we maintain that infirmity did not to some extent mingle with and mar many a holy sacrifice, many an act of true service to Christ? Yet we may without misgiving indignantly repel the theory which would ascribe any part of their conduct to conscious hypocrisy or self-deception. They were true men of God, desiring from their very hearts to do His

work in their generation, and feeling deeply their need of His aid and blessing, that they might do it well. But they were men, after all, of like passions with ourselves, liable to err in judgment and in temper, compassed about with infirmities and having their mental vision obscured by not a few prejudices. To say that of them is to say no more than we should have to say of the best of their opponents.

The same day Mr. Rouse and Mr. Salloway were deputed by the House of Commons 'to return thanks to Dr. Twisse, Mr. Bowles, and Mr. Newcomen, for the great pains they took in the several sermons they preached at the desire of both Houses in Westminster Abbey, before both Houses and Assembly, upon the day of the first meeting of the Assembly, and upon the fast-day for the Assembly,' and to desire them to print their sermons.

On the following day when the Assembly met, the protestation or vow,[1] which was framed according to the third of the regulations already quoted,

[1] The suggestion of this seems to have come from one of the ablest and most active members of the Assembly. In a sermon preached by Palmer before the House of Commons he had said, 'I humbly wish a profession or promise or vow (call it what you will) to be made by all us ministers in the presence of God to this effect: That we shall propound nothing nor consent nor oppose, but what we are persuaded is most agreeable to the Word of God; and will renounce any pre-conceived opinion if we shall be convinced that the Word of God is otherwise. So shall we all seek Christ and not ourselves nor sidings; and God's truth and not victory or glory to ourselves.' (E. 60, No. 3.)

and is still inserted in the preface to most editions of the Confession of Faith,[1]—having been approved of by the Houses of Parliament—was taken by every member present—peers and commoners as well as divines. The vow and the rules of procedure already given were subsequently appointed to be read in the beginning of each week or month, to remind the members of the very solemn obligations under which they acted in the great work they had undertaken. There was then, also, put into the hands of the divines what is termed the new Covenant or Oath, being the second of those vows by which, previous to their alliance with the Scots, the members of the English Parliament, in presence of the dangers which threatened them, thought it incumbent to bind themselves to resist Popery and all innovations in religion. This, however, was soon to be superseded by a newer and more memorable covenant, and it does not appear to have been actually taken by the divines. At the same meeting Mr. White of Dorchester and Dr. Burgess of Watford were nominated assessors to supply the place of the Prolocutor in case of infirmity or absence. It was also arranged

[1] 'I do seriously promise and vow in the presence of Almighty God, that in this Assembly, whereof I am a member, I will maintain nothing in point of doctrine but what I believe to be most agreeable to the Word of God, nor in point of discipline, but what may make most for God's glory and the peace and good of his church.'—*Journals of House of Commons*, vol. iii. p. 157.

with consent of Parliament, that the Assembly should proceed at once to revise the first ten of the Thirty-nine articles of the Church of England, so as to clear them from the false glosses which of late had been put on them by Pelagianising and Romanising divines, and above all by that bold pervert[1] to Romanism, who in 1634 first propounded the theory revived in our own day in Tract No. 90, that subscription of them was not largely inconsistent with acceptance of the decrees of Trent.

To prepare their work, and perhaps to conform to the precedent set by the Synod of Dort, the whole Assembly was 'cast into three equal committees,' according to the order in which the names of the divines stood in the Ordinance of the Houses. All these three, however, were open committees, to which any member interested in their business might come at pleasure. All three were to meet

[1] Davenport or *Franciscus a Sancta Clara* by name. The title of his book was 'Deus, natura, gratia, sive Tractatus de prædestinatione, de meritis et peccatorum remissione, etc., ubi ad trutinam fidei Catholicæ examinatur confessio Anglicana et ad singula puncta quid teneat, qualiter differat, excutitur, doctrina etiam Doctoris subtilis . . . olim Oxoniæ et Cantabridgiæ et solenniter approbata et honorifice prælecta exponitur et propugnatur: Lugd. 1634.' The fact that two editions of the book were issued in two successive years, that it was inscribed to the king, and urged him to complete the work his favourite divines had so well begun, is proof at once whom the Jesuits deemed their true allies, and how confident they were that these allies had prepared the way for them. Earnest Protestants might well feel that in such circumstances their very reverence for the Articles required that they should authoritatively vindicate them from the false glosses put on them.

on Monday at one o'clock. The first was to meet in Henry VII.'s Chapel, taking in hand the first, second, third, and fourth Articles. The second was to meet in the place used heretofore by the Lower House of Convocation (that is, as we are informed by Dean Stanley, St. John's and St. Andrew's Chapel on the north side of the Abbey—a little chapel below stairs). It was to proceed on the fifth, sixth, and seventh Articles. The third was to meet in the Jerusalem Chamber, long the usual meeting-place of the Upper House of Convocation, and was to take up Articles eighth, ninth, and tenth. A sub-committee of six or eight persons, partly divines, and partly members of the House of Commons, was appointed to seek for ancient copies of the Thirty-nine Articles, that the Assembly and its Committees might found their proceedings on the most authentic. The learned Selden, who was probably Convener, made report on 15th July of the proceedings of this sub-committee, and brought in many copies. No doubt one of these was that copy of the Latin Articles of 1563 still preserved in the Bodleian, and said to have been found by him in Archbishop Laud's library. It has been deemed of importance in our own day, from its bearing on the disputes which have been revived as to the authenticity of that clause of the twentieth Article, to which I referred in my first lecture as asserting the power of the Church to decree rites and

ceremonies, and claiming for it authority in controversies of faith.

The Assembly, at the close of this long session, adjourned till Wednesday in the following week, and left Monday and Tuesday free for the important work assigned to the Committees. Lightfoot tells us that at their first meeting Dr. Burgess was chosen chairman of the first Committee, Dr. Stanton of the second, and Mr. Gibbon of the third; but neither he nor any other extant authority has supplied a list of the three Committees as they stood on that day. Three lists are found in the manuscript minutes preserved in Dr. Williams' library, which I take to be lists of these committees as they stood at certain dates. The first of them bears the date of 2d November 1643, and is given by Dr. Briggs in his recent interesting paper on the Westminster Assembly in the January number of the *Presbyterian Review* for 1880. The second bears the date of 15th February 1643-4. The third, of date 12th April 1644, is inserted at page lxxxv of my Introduction to the published volume of the Minutes of the Assembly, and is here subjoined. By the date at which it was drawn up some of the original members had died, Dr. Featley and a few others had withdrawn, and most of the superadded divines had taken their seats in the Assembly. Possibly the last two names on the second Committee should be removed to the third. At least

such a change is needed to make the numbers in each equal.[1]

When the Assembly met on Wednesday, and the report from the first Committee was given in by Dr. Burgess, great debate arose because they had not

[1]

[*First Committee.*]	[*Second Committee.*]	[*Third Committee.*]
Mr. Palmer.	Mr. Clayton.	Mr. Salloway.
Mr. Bowles.	Mr. Gipps.	Mr. Simpson.
Mr. Wilkinson, Senr.	Mr. Burroughs.	Mr. Burgess.
Mr. Valentine.	Mr. Calamy.	Mr. Vines.
Mr. Raynor.	Mr. Walker.	Mr. Greenhill.
Dr. Hoyle.	Mr. Caryl.	Dr. Temple.
Mr. Bridge.	Mr. Seaman.	Mr. Ashe.
Mr. Goodwin.	Mr. Reynolds.	Mr. Gataker.
Mr. Ley.	Mr. Hill.	Mr. Spurstow.
Mr. Case.	Mr. Jackson.	Mr. Cheynel.
Dr. Gouge.	Mr. Carter of L[ondon].	Mr. De la March.
Mr. White.	Mr. Thorowgood.	Mr. Newcomen.
Mr. Marshall.	Mr. Arrowsmith.	Mr. Carter of D[ynton].
Mr. Sedgwick.	Mr. Gibson.	Mr. Hodges.
Mr. Clark.	Mr. Whitaker.	Mr. Perne.
Mr. Bathurst.	Dr. Stanton [Convr.].	Mr. Prophet.
Mr. Nye.	Mr. Lightfoot.	Mr. Sterry.
Dr. Smith.	Mr. Corbet.	Mr. Guibon [Convr.].
Dr. Burges [Convener.]	Mr. Langley.	Mr. Michaelthwaite.
Mr. Green.	Mr. Tisdale.	Dr. Wincop.
Mr. Gower.	Mr. Young.	Mr. Price.
Mr. Taylor.	Mr. Philips.	Mr. Wilkinson, Junr.
Mr. Wilson.	Mr. Couant.	Mr. Woodcock.
Mr. Tuckney.	Mr. Chambers.	Mr. De la Place.
Mr. Coleman.	Mr. Hall.	Mr. Maynard.
Mr. Herle.	Mr. Scudder.	Mr. Paynter.
Mr. Herrick.	Mr. Bayley.	Mr. Good.
Mr. Mew.	Mr. Pickering.	Mr. Hardwick.
Mr. Wrathband.	Mr. Cawdry.	
Mr. Hickes.	Mr. Strickland.	
	Mr. Bond.	
	Mr. Harris.	

adduced any passages of Scripture for the clearing and vindicating of the real sense of those Articles wherewith they were intrusted, and the question was raised whether, in proceeding upon all the Articles, Scripture should be adduced 'for the clearing of them' and fixing of their meaning. This question after long debate was determined affirmatively. From this date onwards to the 12th of October the Assembly was mainly occupied with the revision of the Thirty-nine Articles. The keen and lengthened debates which occurred in the discussions on these Articles could not fail to prepare the way for a more summary mode of procedure in connection with the Confession of Faith. The proceedings then were more summary, or at least more summarily recorded, just because the previous discussions on the more important doctrines of the Protestant system, and especially on that of Justification by Faith, had been thorough and exhaustive, and pretty fully recorded. Lightfoot has preserved no detailed record of these discussions, but in part at least they are fully reported in the first volume of the MS. Minutes of the Assembly. Dr. Featley's two speeches in the debates on the eighth Article and his five speeches on those on the eleventh, as well as his speech in regard to the Solemn League and Covenant, were published shortly after his death. They are learned, acute, and forcible, and as they give more satisfactory insight into the matters

discussed than the desultory notes taken by the scribes, I subjoin a few extracts from them.[1] In regard to the eighth Article on the three creeds to which a persistent party in the Assembly, as afterwards in the House of Commons, objected, it appears that the exceptions taken were partly against the titles of the creeds, and partly against their contents. 'It is objected,' the Doctor says, 'by some of our learned brethren that the Nicene creed is in truth the Constantinopolitan, that the creed which goeth under the name of Athanasius was either made by Anastasius or Eusebius Vercellensis. Certainly Meletius, Patriarch of Constantinople, resolves it negatively, . . . and for that which is called the Apostles' Creed the father, who so christened it, is unknown. Hereunto I answer that though the entire creed which is read in our churches under the name of the Nicene be found *totidem verbis* in the Constantinopolitan, yet it may truly be called the Nicene, because the greatest part of it is taken out of that of Nice, and howsoever some doubt whether Athanasius were the author of that creed which bears his name, yet the greater number of the learned of later ages entitle him to it; and though peradventure he framed it not himself, yet it is most agreeable to his doctrine, and seemeth to be drawn out of his works, and in that regard may be rightly termed HIS creed. For

[1] Speeches in the Assembly, generally bound with his *Dippers Dipt.*

the third creed, although I believe not that the Apostles either jointly or severally dictated it, yet I subscribe to Calvin's judgment, who saith that it was a summary of the Christian faith extant in the Apostles' days, and approved of by them. Howsoever, according to the rule of Aristotle, we must use the language of the vulgar though we vote with wise men and think as they do.' The things in the contents of the creeds most objected to are, he then proceeds to say, (1) the too peremptory way in which the Athanasian affirms the damnation of those who do not believe its doctrine. To this he answers with Vossius that it is to be applied to such only as have capacity to understand it, and whose consciences are convinced of its truth; (2) that in the Nicene creed Christ is spoken of as 'God of God;' to which he replies that 'though Christ is God of God it doth not therefore follow that the deity of the Son is from the deity of the Father, as it does not follow *quia Deus passus est, ergo Deitas passa est* or *quia Maria est mater Dei, ergo est Maria mater deitatis;*' (3) that it is said in the Apostles' Creed Christ descended into hell; to which objection he deems it sufficient to reply that all Christians acknowledge that Christ in some way descended into hell either locally, as many of the ancient fathers, and some of the moderns, or virtually, as Durandus, or metaphorically as Calvin, or metonymically as Tilenus,

Perkins, and this Assembly, and therefore no man need to make scruple of subscribing to this Article as it stands in the Creed, seeing it is capable of so many orthodoxal explications.'

Notwithstanding Dr. Featley's advice to them to be content to use the language of the vulgar, though thinking as wise men do, the Assembly deemed it better to alter the wording of Article VIII. so as to make it clear that they did not regard these ancient symbols as, strictly speaking, the work of the Apostles or of the Council of Nicea or of Athanasius, but only as being commonly so called, or going under their names, an instance of wondrous caution, which should be admired all the more by those who do not credit them with the highest scholarship or critical research, as some in our day still refuse to do.

The main question on which the long debates on the Article of Justification turned was whether the merit of the obedience of Christ as well as the merit of his sufferings was imputed to the believer for his justification. Several of the most distinguished members of the Assembly, including Twisse the Prolocutor, Mr. Gataker, and Mr. Vines, maintained, as had been formerly done by Rollock in Scotland, Piscator in Germany, and Tilenus in France, that it was the sufferings or the passive obedience only of Christ which was imputed to the believer. The Prolocutor spoke at least twice

in the course of the discussion; Gataker oftener and at greater length, and with greater keenness. Dr. Featley, who was the chief disputant on the other side, and who was a thorough Protestant and Calvinist, though a decided royalist and Episcopalian, spoke at least five times, maintaining, as Ussher had formulated it in his Irish Articles, and the great majority of English Puritans had accepted it, that Christ's active obedience or fulfilling of the law, as well as his passive obedience or suffering of its penalty, was imputed to the believer, and was necessary to constitute him righteous in the sight of God and entitle him to eternal life. I can only find room for a few brief extracts from Dr. Featley's fifth speech, which bears the title, 'Concerning the resolve of the Assembly that the whole obedience of Christ is imputed to every believer.' He first notices and states not unfairly the three objections taken to the proposition by Gataker that it was redundant, yet deficient, and novel; redundant in that the word *whole* obedience of Christ must include his obedience to the ceremonial law as well as to the moral; deficient in that the word obedience could not be held to include Christ's original righteousness; novel in so far as the imputation of Christ's active as well as passive obedience was never defined for dogma before the French Protestant Synods of Gap and Privas.[1] To the objec-

[1] Quick's *Synodicon*, vol. i. pp. 227, 348.

tion of redundancy Featley replied that though *we* were not bound by the ceremonial law, yet the *Jews* were, and that this was part of the meaning of the Apostle when, in Galatians iv. 4, he speaks of Christ as being made under the law to redeem them that were under the law. To the charge of deficiency he rejoins that though Christ's original righteousness was requisite in him both as high priest and sacrifice, yet it was not properly the work of Christ but of the Holy Ghost, and so not to be imputed to us as any act of our Mediator. To the objection of novelty he replied that the doctrine itself was much more ancient than the French Synods in question, adducing testimonies in its favour from Chrysostom, Augustine, Bernard, Luther, Calvin, Peter Martyr, and others. He then proceeds as follows:—'Here methinks I hear those who are most active in the Assembly for the imputation of the mere passive obedience of Christ, like the tribunes among the Romans, *obnunciare et intercedere*, that they may hinder and stop the decree of the Assembly, alledging that though some of the ancient fathers, and not a few of the reformed doctors, cast in their white stone among ours, yet that we want the suffrage of Him who alone hath the turning voice in all debates of this kind, and that according to our protestation made at our first meeting we ought to resolve upon nothing in matter of faith, but what

we are persuaded hath firm and sure ground in Scripture, and howsoever some texts have been alledged for the imputation of both active and passive obedience, yet that at our last sitting they were wrested from us, and all inferences from thence cut off; all the redoubts and forts built upon that holy ground were sleighted. It will import, therefore, very much those who stand for the affirmative to recruit the forces of truth and repair the breaches in our forts made by the adversaries' batteries.' He then takes up in detail the several texts which had been adduced, and replies with considerable pertinency to Gataker's arguments respecting each. The latter had said that by obedience in Rom. v. 18-19, the apostle meant the special obedience which Christ gave to His Father's commandment to lay down His life for the sheep, just as in Philippians he spake of Christ becoming obedient unto death. To this Dr. Featley replies that the word in the former passage was not *ὑπακοή* but *δικαίωμα*, which was never taken in Scripture for suffering or mere passive obedience; further, that no man is said to have justification of life or abundance of grace and the gift of righteousness by suffering only; and finally that the obedience here mentioned, being set in opposition to Adam's disobedience, must be active as Adam's was. From the life of Lightfoot prefixed to the Latin edition of his works

we learn that the same view was ably maintained by that eminent scholar, and extended to ὑπακοή as well as δικαίωμα.[1] On the text 1 Cor. i. 30, Christ is made to us wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, etc., Gataker had argued that Christ is made to us righteousness as he is made wisdom, but he is not made to us wisdom by imputing his wisdom to us, but by instructing us; so neither is he said to be made righteousness because his righteousness is imputed to us, but because by his grace he makes us actually righteous. To this Featley replies (1) that whatever Christ is made to us he is made perfectly, but he is not made perfectly wisdom or righteousness save by imputing his own righteousness and wisdom to us which are most perfect; (2) Christ is made righteousness to us in the same sense as he is made redemption, but he is made redemption unto us by imputing his passive obedience; therefore in like manner he is made righteousness to us by imputing his active obedience. In the same manner he replies to the arguments founded on 2 Cor. v. 21 and Col. ii. 10, and then concludes as follows: 'No man who standeth *rectus in curia* as Adam did in his innocency or the angels before they were confirmed in grace, is bound both to fulfil the law, and to satisfy for the violation thereof; but to the one or to the other, to fulfil only the law primarily, and to satisfy

[1] *Lightfootii Opera*, vol. i. Vita, § 3.

for not fulfilling it in case he should transgress; but that is not our present case, for we are all born and conceived in sin, and by nature are the children of wrath, guilty as well of Adam's actual transgression as our own corruption of nature drawn from his loins. Therefore, first, we must satisfy for our sin and then by our obedience lay claim to life according as it is offered to us by God in his law.' 'We grant freely that Christ's death is sufficient for the satisfactory part, but unless his active obedience be imputed to us we have no plea or title at all to eternal life. I may illustrate this by a lively similitude such as that to which the apostle elsewhere alludes. In the Olympian games he that overcame received a crown of gold or silver, or a garland of flowers, or some other badge of honour; but he that was overcome, besides the loss of the prize, forfeited something to the keeper of the games. Suppose some friend of his should pay his forfeit, would that entitle him to his garland? Certainly no; unless . . . in another race he outstrip his adversary he must go away crownless. This is our case by Adam's transgression and our own; we have incurred a forfeiture or penalty; this is satisfied by the imputation of Christ's passive obedience; but unless his active be also imputed to us we could have no plea or claim to our crown of glory, for we have not in our own persons so run that we might obtain.'

After this speech the divines called for a vote on the question, and though some of eminent parts in the Assembly dissented, yet far the major part voted for the affirmative, that Christ's *whole* obedience was imputed to the believer. Before the close of the session, however, Dr. Featley seems himself to have been disposed to yield somewhat to the great divines opposed to him. Perhaps he had got a quiet hint from his correspondent at Oxford to do so. He produced a copy of the letter referred to by the Prolocutor in the course of the discussion, which had been written by King James to the Synod of the French Protestant Church which met at Privas in 1612. In this letter the king counselled them to let this question and those depending on it 'be altogether buried and left in the grave with the napkin and linen clothes wherein the body of Christ was wrapped . . . lest peradventure by too much wrangling they seem to cut in two the living child which the tender-hearted mother would not endure, or divide the seamless coat of Christ which the cruel soldier would not suffer.' The reason he assigned for this counsel was that the question was altogether new, and not necessary to be determined, unheard of in former ages, not decided by any council, nor handled in the fathers, nor disputed by the school-men. Probably it was on this account that when the Assembly came to treat of the subject of

Justification in their Confession of Faith they left out the word *whole* to which Gataker and his friends had most persistently objected, so that the clause, which in their revised version of Article XI. had stood in the form 'his *whole* obedience and satisfaction being by God imputed to us,' was in the confession changed into 'imputing the obedience and satisfaction of Christ,' which though it hardly seems to us to include, still less to favour their view, they were content to accept as less rigid than the other. At least on its being conceded Gataker and his friends agreed to drop further controversy on the question, as has been distinctly recorded by Simeon Ashe in his funeral sermon for his old friend Gataker.

Before the 12th of October, the Assembly had revised fifteen of the Articles, and were proceeding with the sixteenth,[1] when, by order of the Houses, they laid aside this work and proceeded to take in hand the government and liturgy of the Church. What they had accomplished previously they regarded as superseded by a later order to draw up a Confession of Faith. It was only after repeated peremptory messages from the House of Commons that they consented to send it up to them, and they accompanied it by an explanatory preface in which they stated that they regarded

[1] They had resolved to change 'may depart from grace given' into 'may fail of the grace of God attained.'

the work as in several ways imperfect, and as having relation only to the Church of England, and therefore as superseded by the more recent order sent to them to prepare a Confession of Faith for the churches of the three kingdoms. The Articles, as far as revised by the Assembly, have been often reprinted, not, however, in the exact form in which they were sent up by the Assembly to the Houses, but in the form in which they were passed by them, and were included among the documents submitted for the acceptance of the king in the negotiations of 1648. The full form, together with the preface of the Assembly, is to be found in a rare volume of tracts contained in the library of the British Museum (King's Pamphlets, E. 516). The only material difference between the two forms is that while Article VIII. is omitted from the former, it is retained in the latter, and in a revised version slightly different from that given in Lightfoot's Journal. 'The creeds that go under the name of the Nicene Creed, Athanasius' Creed, and that which is commonly called the Apostles' Creed, are thoroughly to be received and believed, for that they may be proved by most certain warrant of Holy Scripture.'[1]

While the revision of the Articles was being carried forward at Westminster, the cause of the

[1] The Preface as well as the ultimate revision of this Article are given in the appendix to the printed *Minutes of the Assembly.*

Parliament had been going backward in the country. One and another defeat had been sustained by their forces, and their supporters in various parts were becoming so disheartened, that at the request of the House of Commons divers of the members of the Assembly were sent away from their duties there, and instructed to go to various parts of the kingdom, and stir up the people to greater zeal in their cause. It might have been well for the Assembly itself had such a policy been followed more frequently when it became apparent that the work for which it was called was not to be rapidly completed. The immuring of so many of the ablest ministers for so long a time in London, if it strengthened their hold on that great city, tended to weaken their hold on their parishioners in the country and in the provincial towns, and so to separate the metropolis and the provinces as to make the revolution ultimately effected by the leaders of the army a far easier matter than it would have been had the *élite* of their ministers been able to be more in their parishes, and to guide opinion at so many important centres in harmony with what it was in London. It was at the same crisis in their fortunes that the Parliament finally made up their minds to outbid the king for the Scotch alliance, and despatched commissioners to Scotland to arrange terms with the Convention of Estates and General Assembly there, and in the

name of the Houses and the Assembly more formally to invite the assistance of Scottish commissioners in the deliberations of the Assembly.

All the Scottish leaders looked favourably on the cause which the English Parliament was defending, but all were not at first agreed that they ought to take a side in the contest between it and the king. Henderson and several other trusted counsellors had previously urged that the true position for them to assume, in the first instance, was that of mediators between the parties. But the coldness of their reception at Oxford had discouraged even these, while the concessions of the Parliament on the subject of episcopacy 'flattered the ambition of the nation,' and in the end the fervid eloquence of Johnstone of Warriston, advocating active participation in the contest, carried all before it.[1] It was unanimously agreed that common cause should be made with their English brethren, and that every possible aid should be given them in the war into which they had been driven in defence of their religion and liberties. Yet all were determined not to draw their swords about mere civil grievances, however insupportable these were deemed to be, but to place the cause of the true Reformed religion and the government of Christ's Church according to His Word in the forefront, if not to bring the Ark of God itself into the battle. They would

[1] Baillie's *Letters*, vol. ii. p. 90.

not have the civil league which the English commissioners offered them, but pressed for a solemn religious bond like that into which in times of trial they and their fathers had entered, and which in their recent Vow or Covenant the English Houses had actually indorsed. The English commissioners were obliged at last so far to yield to the wishes of the Scotch as to make the proposed treaty a solemn League *and* Covenant 'for the defence and preservation of the Reformed religion in the Church of Scotland in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, and for the reformation of religion in the kingdoms of England and Ireland according to the Word of God and practice of the best Reformed Churches, and for bringing the Church of God in the three kingdoms to the nearest conjunction and uniformity in religion, Confession of Faith, form of church-government, directories for worship and for catechising,' and then, only subordinately or conjunctly, 'for the defence and preservation of the rights and privileges of the Parliament, the liberties of the kingdoms, and of the king's Majesty's person and authority in the preservation and defence of the true religion and liberties of the kingdoms.'

This Covenant, drafted by Henderson and accepted by the English commissioners, was forthwith transmitted to England, where after some very slight changes it was approved by the Assembly

and accepted by the Houses, and finally was directed to be subscribed throughout the kingdom, as it also was in Scotland. It was subscribed there with singular unanimity and enthusiasm, and if with less general spontaneity in England yet certainly more extensively than is sometimes represented. Neale, who is by no means a blind admirer of the Scots, informs us that 'most of the religious part of the nation who apprehended the Protestant religion to be in danger, and were desirous of reducing the hierarchy, were zealous for the Covenant,' that others who were on the side of the Parliament took it in obedience to their authority, being sensible that on no other conditions could the assistance of the Scots be secured, and that a number of the episcopal divines who made the greatest figure in the Church after the Restoration did not refuse it, as Cudworth, Wallis, Reynolds, Lightfoot, and many others. Lightfoot was so keen for it that he does not hesitate to speak of Dr. Burgess, who opposed it and petitioned the House of Commons to be heard against it, 'as a wretch to be branded to all posterity, seeking for some devilish ends, either of his own or others, or both, to hinder so great a good of the two nations,' 'to put in a bar against a matter of so infinite weight, and asperse such an Assembly with so much mire and dirt.'[1]

[1] Lightfoot's *Journal*, pp. 12, 13, 14. Dr. M'Crie seems to have doubted whether Lightfoot had not exaggerated both as to Dr.

Dr. Burgess, however, was not the only objector in the Assembly when the Houses referred the Covenant to them for their judgment and counsel as to whether it might be lawfully sworn. Dr. Price seems to have joined him in his opposition and petition, though he gave in sooner, and was let off more easily. In addition to them Dr. Featley and one or two royalists, who still remained in attendance, opposed it out-and-out, and if Mr. Lance did not join them he slunk away from the Assembly about the time they had to leave it, and had great difficulty some years after in securing its approbation to his appointment to a London charge. Twisse, Gouge, and Gataker had joined in objecting to the 2d Article as originally drafted for the extirpation of prelacy without any limitation,—affirming, that while opposed to such episcopacy as had hitherto been in the Church of England, they were not opposed to, and could not be expected to swear to endeavour the extirpation of, all prelacy or stated presidency over the ministers of the Church. To satisfy their scruples it was agreed to insert after the word 'prelacy' the explanatory clause already inserted in the Ordinance calling

Burgess's offence and punishment. But the Journals of the House of Commons (vol. iii. pp. 225, 242) confirm his account, and show that 'the turbulent doctor' was suspended from the Assembly, and had to make a humble apology to the House ere he was restored. Baillie had not yet come up, and so has not reported the matter with his usual accuracy.

the Westminster Assembly (that is, Church-government by Archbishops, Bishops, their Chancellors and Commissaries, Deans, Deans and Chapters, Archdeacons, and all other ecclesiastical officers depending on that hierarchy).[1] There can be no doubt that it was with this distinct limitation that the Covenant was taken by many, both laymen and divines, in England, and perhaps as little doubt that it was understood by most in Scotland in a more absolute sense; and if there is no great foundation for the remark of Neale that 'the wise men on both sides endeavoured to outwit each other in wording the Articles,' there is foundation for the remark that with much in it that was noble and good and thoroughly justifiable at such a crisis in

[1] The Assembly reported to the House of Commons that they had received the Covenant with great joy and contentment, and had fully debated and considered of it, and 'that they do approve of the said Covenant, and judge it to be lawful in point of conscience to be taken, and that they do humbly advise that these explanations following should be subjoined to the Covenant, viz., 1. By the clause in the first article of the Covenant, "according to the Word of God," we understand "so far as we do or shall in our consciences conceive the same to be according to the Word of God;" 2. By "Prelacy" in the second article of the Covenant we understand "the church-government by Archbishops, Bishops, their Chancellors, Commissaries, Deans and Chapters, Archdeacons, and other ecclesiastical officers depending upon the hierarchy."' The House approved of both explanations, and recommended the insertion of the clause relating to Ireland in the preamble. They hesitated most over the fifth article, which pledged them in their station to endeavour that the kingdoms should remain conjoined in firm peace and union to all posterity, and that justice may be done on the wilful opposers thereof.

the history of the three kingdoms, it was not free from the seeds of future misunderstanding and dissension. Dr. Stoughton has spoken far more to the point, and according to actual facts, than Neale when he says, 'The English Commissioners, by accepting the Covenant, pledged themselves to the cause of which the Scotch Presbyterians regarded it as the symbol, and looking to the ecclesiastical opinions of the English Commissioners Vane and Nye, we cannot defend their conduct on this occasion against the charge of inconsistency.' Nor was this the full extent of Mr. Nye's fault. He must not only bear the blame of having committed himself by tacit acquiescence, but also by explicit words. In his speech at the taking of the Covenant by the House of Commons and the Assembly of Divines in St. Margaret's Church, Westminster, to which I shall have occasion to refer in my next lecture, he gave utterance to words which could not but lead the Scotch to believe that he thought favourably even of their ecclesiastical order: 'If England,' he says,[1] 'hath attained to any greater perfection in so handling the word of righteousness ... as to make men more godly, ... if in the churches of Scotland any more *light and beauty in matters of order* and discipline be in their assemblies, or more orderly, ... we shall humbly bow

[1] Speeches delivered before the subscribing of the Covenant, the 25th of September, at St. Margaret's, Westminster.

and kiss their lips that can speak right words to us in these matters.' . . . These kindly sentiments seem still to have animated him when he penned or put his name to the Apologetical Narration of the five dissenting members of the Assembly. And so the Scottish Commissioners had some right to feel both surprised and indignant when on the 20th February 1644, there being very fair appearances of agreement in the matters disputed between the two parties, after long and keen debates, Mr. Nye interfered to 'spoil all their play,'[1] and offered to prove their favourite church-government 'inconsistent with a civil state;' and again on the following day when seeing the Assembly full of the prime nobles and chief members of both Houses, he did fall on that argument again and offered to demonstrate that their way of drawing a whole kingdom under one national Assembly was formidable, yea, thrice over pernicious to civil states and kingdoms.' It was hardly to be wondered at that he should have been cried down and voted to have spoken against the order, or that the *præfervidum ingenium Scotorum* should have been roused, and even the calm and judicious Henderson should for the moment have so far given way to his exasperation as to compare him with Sanballat, Tobias, and Symmachus, who sought to stir up their heathen rulers against the Jews, or to Pagan

[1] Baillie's *Letters and Journals*, vol. ii. p. 145.

writers who stirred up the Roman Emperors against the Christians.

The Solemn League and Covenant was then, and has often since been fiercely and unjustly denounced, and has at times been advocated with only less fierceness and uncharitableness. But even Presbyterians, who may doubt of its descending obligation, or hesitate with Dr. Hetherington to characterise it as 'the wisest, sublimest, most sacred document ever penned by uninspired men,' will cheerfully grant with Dr. M'Crie that it was 'an unprecedented deed warranted by the unprecedented dangers to which the cause of Christ in Britain was then exposed—an act of heroism which, if like an act of martyrdom it cannot properly be repeated, yet it may be gratefully commemorated. With the exception of that unparalleled scene in the Greyfriars' Churchyard in 1638, of which it was the consequence and completion, the signing of the Solemn League and Covenant was perhaps 'the most remarkable event in Scotland's remarkable history.' 'There are moments,' as Mr. Rawson Gardiner has it, 'when the stern Scottish nature breaks out into enthusiasm less passionate but more enduring than the frenzy of a southern race.' This was one of these supreme moments. Bidding away the suggestions of worldly prudence, they resolved, as with one heart and soul, for the sake of that faith which was dearer to them than life, to

put in jeopardy all they had gained, and make common cause with their southern brethren in the time of their sorest need. If ever nation swore to its own hurt, and changed not, made sacrifices ungrudgingly, bore obloquy and misrepresentation uncomplainingly, and had wrongs heaped on it most cruelly by those for whom its self-sacrifice alone opened a career, it was the Scottish nation at that eventful period of its history. It felt that the faith which was its light and life was really being imperilled, and it was determined, as in the days of Knox, to dare all for its safety and triumph, in England as well as Scotland.

The Covenant in the eyes of all true Scotsmen will ever stand identified with the cause of Protestantism, the cause of civil and religious liberty, in a great crisis of British history; it will be recognised as a testimony against Popery, sacerdotalism, and all profaneness, which at no small cost our fathers kept up when it was abandoned elsewhere, and which we ought not to let down though we may have to bear it in other forms, or to carry it out in other ways. In the eyes of many patriotic Englishmen at that crisis of their struggle for their religion and liberties, it appeared hardly less glorious. 'This covenant in the midst of our troubles . . . did mightily revive and cheer our drooping spirits, and was as life from the dead.' 'We shall never forget,' say the Lancashire ministers, 'how solemnly it was

sworn, many rejoicing at the oath, and sundry weeping for joy. We thought within ourselves that surely now the crown is set on England's head; we judged the day of entering into this Covenant to be England's coronation-day, as it was the day of the gladness of our hearts.' 'The day when this Covenant was subscribed,' says the Erastian Coleman, 'was a day of contentment and joy. The honourable gentry accounted it their freedom to be bound to God, the men of war accounted it their honour to be pressed for this service, our brethren of Scotland esteemed it a happiness and a further act of pacification. Our reverend divines deserve not to be last either in praise or performance.' Nor were thoughts of its influence on posterity absent from the minds of pious Independents. 'Heartily beseeching God,' says Caryl, 'our God, the great and mighty and terrible God, who keepeth covenant for ever, to strengthen us all in performing the duties which we have promised in this Covenant, . . . that the children which are yet unborn may bless us and bless God for us.'

LECTURE VI.

ARRIVAL OF THE SCOTTISH COMMISSIONERS, EXTENSION OF THE ASSEMBLY'S COMMISSION CONSEQUENT ON THE ADOPTION OF THE SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT, DEBATES ON THE OFFICE-BEARERS AND COURTS OF THE CHURCH.

IN my last Lecture I gave you an account of the opening of the Westminster Assembly and of the more important doctrinal debates which occurred during its early sessions, while it was occupied in revising the Articles of the English Church, and adjusting the Solemn League and Covenant. To-day I propose to give a brief account of its debates and proceedings while occupied in drawing up its Propositions concerning church-government, or, as it is now usually termed, its Form of Church-government, as well as its Directories for public worship and for church-government and discipline. Before doing this, however, I am to advert to the arrival and reception of the Scottish Commissioners, and I deem it best, though deviating somewhat from strict chronological order, to introduce this by quoting to you that graphic account of the Assembly which was furnished by Robert Baillie,

one of these commissioners, shortly after the date at which we have arrived, and which, from its unique interest, has been quoted at length by almost all who profess to treat of the Assembly. After narrating briefly to that correspondent to whom he was to intrust so many of the secret actions and motives of himself and his brethren, his admission to the Assembly, and the welcome he received, Baillie (vol. ii. pp. 107-109) goes on as follows:—

'Here no mortal man may enter to see or hear, let be to sitt, without ane order in wryte from both Houses of Parliament. . . . The like of that Assemblie I did never see, and, as we hear say, the like was never in England, nor any where is shortlie lyke to be. They did sit in Henry the 7th's Chappell, in the place of the Convocation; but since the weather grew cold, they did go to Jerusalem chamber,[1] a fair roome in the Abbey of Westminster, about the bounds of the Colledge fore-hall, but wyder.[2] At the one end nearest the doore, and both sydes are stages of seats as in the new Assemblie-House at Edinburgh, but not so high; for there

[1] 'The fairest room in the Dean's lodgings' and 'for historical associations and artistic accessories second in interest' only to the Abbey itself. It got its name either from the representations of gospel scenes on the old tapestry, wainscot, or stained glass, or from its proximity to the sanctuary, the place of peace. See Gilbert Scott's *Gleanings from* and Stanley's *Memorials of Westminster Abbey*.

[2] This has generally been supposed to be the hall fronting the High Street, which continued till recently the Hall of Glasgow College. But the proportions of the Jerusalem Chamber are altogether different from those of that hall. It is not wider but narrower than it, and considerably higher in proportion to the length. The only explanation I can suggest is that which I gave at the meeting with Dean Stanley in 1875, that Baillie spoke of a fore-hall or high hall which was demolished even in his own lifetime, and was of different proportions. *Letters*, vol. iii. p. 438.

will be roome but for five or six score. At the upmost end there is a chair set on ane frame, a foot from the floor, for the Mr. Proloqutor Dr. Twisse. Before it on the floor stand two chairs for the two Mr. Assessors, Dr. Burgess and Mr. Whyte. Before these two chairs, through the length of the roome, stands a table, at which sitt the two scribes, Mr. Byfield and Mr. Roþorough. The house is all well hung [with tapestry], and hes a good fyre, which is some dainties at London. Foranent the table, upon the Proloqutor's right hand, there are three or four rankes of formes. On the lowest we five doe sit. Upon the other, at our backs, the members of Parliament deputed to the Assemblie. On the formes foranent us, on the Proloqutor's left hand, going from the upper end of the house to the chimney, and at the other end of the house, and backsyde of the table, till it come about to our seats, are four or five stages of forms, whereupon their divines sitts as they please; albeit commonlie they keep the same place. From the chimney to the door there are no seats, but a voyd for passage. The Lords of Parliament use to sit on chairs, in that voyd, about the fire. . . . We meet every day of the week, but Saturday. We sitt commonlie from nine to one or two afternoon. The Proloqutor at the beginning and end hes a short prayer. The man, as the world knows, is very learned in the questions he hes studied, and very good, beloved of all, and highlie esteemed; but merelie bookish, and not much, as it seems, acquaint with conceived prayer, [and] among the unfittest of all the company for any action; so after the prayer he sitts mute. It was the canny convoyance of these who guides most matters for their own interest to plant such a man of purpose in the chaire. The one assessour, our good friend Mr. Whyte, hes keeped in of the gout since our coming; the other, Dr. Burgess, a very active and sharpe man, supplies, so farr as is decent, the Proloqutor's place. Ordinarlie there will be present above threescore of their divines. These are divided in[to] three Committees; in one whereof every man is a member. No man is excluded who pleases to come to any of the three. Every Committee, as the Parliament gives order in wryte to take any purpose

to consideration, takes a portion, and in their afternoon meeting prepares matters for the Assemblie, setts doune their minde in distinct propositions, backs their propositions with texts of Scripture. After the prayer, Mr. Byfield the scribe, reads the proposition and Scriptures, whereupon the Assemblie debates in a most grave and orderlie way. No man is called up to speak [as was then the custom in the Scotch Assembly]; bot who stands up of his own accord, he speaks so long as he will without interruption. If two or three stand up at once, then the divines confusedlie calls on his name whom they desyre to hear first: On whom the loudest and maniest voices call, he speaks. No man speaks to any but to the Proloqutor. They harangue long and very learnedlie. They studie the questions well before hand, and prepare their speeches; but withall the men are exceeding prompt, and well spoken. I doe marvell at the very accurate and extemporall replyes that many of them usuallie doe make. When, upon every proposition by itself, and on everie text of Scripture that is brought to confirme it, every man who will hes said his whole minde, and the replyes, and duplies, and triplies, are heard; then the most part calls, To the question. Byfield the scribe rises from the table, and comes to the Proloqutor's chair, who, from the scribe's book, reads the proposition, and says, as many as are in opinion that the question is well stated in the proposition, let them say Aye; when Aye is heard, he says, as many as think otherwise, say No. If the difference of Aye's and No's be cleare, as usuallie it is, then the question is *ordered* by the scribes, and they go on to debate the first Scripture alleadged for proof of the proposition. If the sound of Aye and No be near equall, then sayes the Proloqutor, as many as say Aye, stand up; while they stand, the scribe and others number them in their minde; when they sitt down, the No's are bidden stand, and they likewise are numbered. This way is clear enough, and saves a great deal of time, which we spend in reading our catalogue. When a question is once ordered, there is no more debate of that matter; but if a man will vaige, he is quicklie taken up by Mr. Assessor, or many others, confusedlie crying,

Speak to order, to order. No man contradicts another expresslie by name, but most discreetlie speaks to the Proloqutor, and at most holds on the generall, The Reverend brother, who latelie or last spoke, on this hand, on that syde, above, or below. I thought meet once for all to give yow a taste of the outward form of their Assemblie. They follow the way of their Parliament. Much of their way is good, and worthie of our imitation :[1] only their longsomenesse is wofull at this time, when the Church and Kingdome lyes under a most lamentable anarchy and confusion.'

Many memorable meetings have taken place in this Jerusalem Chamber since the middle of the 17th century, but to the descendants of the old Puritans, perhaps none more memorable than that which took place on the 22d July 1875, when the representatives of the Presbyterian churches of England, Scotland, Ireland, the United States, and Canada, having agreed on the basis of our general Presbyterian Alliance, adjourned to the old Abbey of Westminster, and under the guidance of its kindly Dean, clad not in his robes of office, but in plain black gown and bands, streamed into and filled the old chamber where their fathers sat and elaborated those standards which we still revere. The Dean, taking the chair and asking us to regard him for the time as our Prolocutor, proceeded in the frankest way to discuss with us various details referred to in the above extract from Baillie ; with a merry twinkle in his eye he quoted to us some of

[1] It has been adopted more entirely by the American than it yet has by the Scottish churches.

the sharp sayings of Selden, and promised that, in the series of decorations of a historical character then being arranged round the walls of the chamber, a place would be given to the great Puritan Assembly. This promise he was spared to fulfil, though he has made choice of an incident which, notwithstanding the halo of romance with which tradition has surrounded it, is of very doubtful authenticity.

It was on the 14th September that intimation was given to the Assembly that certain Commissioners from the Church of Scotland had arrived, and desired next day to come in to the Assembly, as they had been authorised by the Houses to do. These were Alexander Henderson, George Gillespie —the one their most trusted leader, the other their ablest debater—and John, Lord Maitland, then a 'very gracious youth,' and found most useful in keeping up friendly relations between the Scotch and the House of Lords. When they appeared the following day, the Covenant, as finally adjusted, was being read, and when that had been finished, an address of welcome was made to them by the Prolocutor, and seconded by the ever-ready and copious Dr. Hoyle, something being added by Mr. Case, though he had not been specially appointed to speak as the others had been. Henderson, in name of the Scottish Commissioners, made a suitable reply to these addresses, expressing the

deep sympathy of the Scottish nation with them in their many troubles, their earnest resolve to make common cause with them in the war, and to aid them to their utmost power. He also expressed their readiness as Commissioners to take part in the important work in which the Assembly was engaged. At the same time he claimed that, in all matters of uniformity between the churches and the two kingdoms, they should be dealt with, not as so many units in the Assembly, but as the representatives of one of the covenanting churches and nations. After this the Assembly resumed consideration of the Covenant, and full explanations were given to the Scotch Commissioners of the clauses which had been previously debated and the alterations proposed to be made on one or two of them. When all had passed with general consent and cheerfulness, and Dr. Burgess, who had been suspended for opposing it, but had since made his peace with the Houses, had also made his explanations to the Assembly, the Prolocutor gave thanks to God 'for the sweet concurrence' in the Covenant. It was resolved that it should forthwith be taken by the Houses and the Assembly with all solemnity. Accordingly, on Monday the 25th September the members of the House of Commons and of the Assembly met for this purpose in St. Margaret's Church, Westminster. This little church on the north side of the Abbey

is almost dwarfed by its more stately neighbour, but it had a consequence of its own from its being the church to which the members of the Houses, and especially of the House of Commons, were accustomed on special occasions to resort, and where, after the meeting of the Long Parliament, they had insisted on having the Communion administered to them in the old way which had been followed in most parish churches before Laud began his innovations, *i.e.* with the Communion table brought out from under the East wall into the middle of the church or chancel. On that occasion Dr. Gauden had officiated, and preached a very notable sermon. (*Journals*, ii. 24, 37, 41.)

The following is Lightfoot's[1] account of the memorable service at the taking of the Covenant on 25th September:—'After a Psalm given by Mr. Wilson, picking several verses to suit the present occasion out of several Psalms, Mr. White prayed near upon an hour. Then he came down out of the pulpit, and Mr. Nye went up and made an exhortation of another hour long. After he had done, Mr. Henderson, out of the seat where he sat, did the like—all tending to forward the Covenant. Then Mr. Nye being in the pulpit still, read the Covenant, and at every clause of it the House of Commons and we of the Assembly held up our hands and gave our consent thereby to it, and then

[1] *Journal* in vol. xiii. p. 19 of Pitman's edition of his works.

all went into the chancel and subscribed our hands. Afterwards we had a prayer by Dr. Gouge, and another psalm by Mr. Wilson, and departed to the Assembly again, and after prayer adjourned till Thursday morning because of the fast.' Two hundred and twenty-eight members of the House of Commons on that day lifted up their hands to heaven, worshipping the great name of God, and promising to be faithful in His covenant. Among these is found the name of Oliver Cromwell, who, like Nye, was either not disinclined at that juncture to make common cause with the Presbyterians, or wished not to be thought so as yet. In a few years after, acting on the principle laid down by Nye, in a debate to which I have previously referred, that national ecclesiastical assemblies were pernicious to civil states and kingdoms, Cromwell by his soldiers forcibly dissolved the General Assembly of the Scottish Church which they thought he had covenanted to preserve to them.[1]

A few days before the Covenant was taken by the House of Commons the tide of war which had

[1] 'This act of tyranny,' as Dr. M'Crie says, 'must of course be pronounced justifiable on the above principle;' but then what becomes of the other principle ostentatiously advocated by both of them, of tolerating all Churches? Was it that Cromwell, like many less noble-hearted and less Christian men, found it easier to cut than to loose the Gordian knot, to govern by military power than to consolidate the institutions of the country and to guide and control the deliberations of its free representative assemblies, either civil or religious?

set in so heavily against them had again turned. Gloucester, besieged 'by the flower of the English nobility and gentry with courage as high as became their birth,' had been relieved by the Parliamentary forces, and a battle had been fought at Newbury in Berkshire on Wednesday, 20th September, particulars of which must have reached them before they held up their hands to heaven. 'Perchance,' Dr. Stoughton has it, 'some held them up all the more firmly in consequence of what they had just been told of the persistent valour of the army. For all along the valley . . . Essex's men, wearing fern and broom in their hats, had fought from four o'clock in the morning till ten at night.' 'Much prowess,' says the contemporary account, 'was showed on both sides, and when night came on the royal forces' still stood in good order on the further side of the heath, but by next morning they were gone, and the Parliamentary army marched quietly over the ground they had occupied.[1] On his return to London the Lord General was received with every demonstration of joy—even the Assembly of Divines waiting on him in the painted chamber

[1] The same morning the following paper was received by Essex from Prince Rupert: 'We desire to know from the Earl of Essex whether he have the Viscount Falkland, Captain Bertue, etc., prisoners, or whether he have their dead bodies, and if he have, that liberty may be granted to their servants to fetch them away.' Truly, as the chronicler concludes, 'there is no victory in civil war that can bring the conqueror a perfect triumph,' and Essex might well be 'sorry for the loss of so many gallant gentlemen on the other side.'

to offer him their congratulations. The Prolocutor made a speech on the occasion, and the General returned thanks for the honour done him.

It was not till the 15th October that the Covenant was sworn by Essex and the peers of the Parliamentary party—'the little house of Lords,' as Baillie calls them,—along with the city authorities, the officers of the army, and the Scotch, resident in the city; and the same day, or on the Lord's day following, it was tendered in a number of the city churches to the parishioners, and soon after was sent into the provinces along with an address explaining those things in it which seemed to create difficulty, and urging its being taken without delay by all leal-hearted supporters of the Parliamentary cause.

The Solemn League and Covenant being adopted, the Scotch did not delay to urge on the practical fulfilment of those engagements for reformation and uniformity in religion which had been placed in the forefront of it and gave it its main value in their eyes. The Westminster Assembly, originally called to reform the government and liturgy of the Church of England and to vindicate and clear its doctrines from false aspersions, had now its mission extended, and elevated into the preparation of a common confession of faith, catechisms and directories for public worship and church-government for the churches of the three king-

doms. ' The Scotch had long maintained that the question of church-government was the true key of the position, and must be first won if they were to be settled rightly. Others than mere worldly tacticians might have hinted to them that the discussion of it was likely to engender strife and begin alienations which it was their duty and might be their wisdom to allay or delay to the very uttermost; but they deemed it so necessary that they brought every influence to bear on the Houses to induce them to give directions that it should be set about without loss of time; and with all their abhorrence of Erastianism they did not scruple on various occasions to bring the influence of the Houses to bear on the Assembly in this way. So on Thursday, 12th October, the Assembly 'being at that instant very busy upon the XVIth Article, and upon that clause of it which mentions *departure from grace*,' there came an order to them from both Houses of Parliament enjoining[1] them forthwith to 'confer and treat among themselves of such a discipline and government as may be most agreeable to God's holy word, and most apt to procure and preserve the peace of the Church at home, and nearer agreement with the Church of Scotland and other Reformed Churches abroad;' . . . and also of 'the directory of worship, or liturgy, hereafter to be in the Church, and to deliver their opinions and advices of and touching the same to

[1] Lightfoot's *Journal*, p. 17.

both or either of the Houses of Parliament with all convenient speed. . . .' It was in pursuance of this order that they began and prosecuted to the bitter end those almost interminable debates with the Independents which, fragmentarily as they are taken down, fill so large a portion of vols. i. and ii. of the MS. minutes of the Assembly, and which are more summarily and sometimes more vividly described in Lightfoot's *Journal*[1] and in Gillespie's Notes.[2] The *vidimus* of the several votes and resolutions prefixed to the latter, and probably copied for Gillespie from some official document, is only less valuable as a synopsis of their labours in this department of their work than the 'Propositions concerning Church-Government,' and the 'Directory for Church-Government, Ordination of ministers, and Excommunication,' in which they themselves embodied the matured results of their deliberations. The work began, like all their most serious work, with a solemn fast—a day of humiliation and prayer to implore God's guidance in and blessing on their labours. Burgess, Goodwin, and Stanton led their devotions, and Whitaker and Palmer preached. On the two following days the method of procedure was considered, and several keen discussions took place upon it as to whether they should begin by debating generally if the Scripture contains a rule of church-government,

[1] Forming vol. xiii. of his Works. [2] In vol. ii. of his Works.

or by defining what is the meaning of this word Church, or, passing over these questions in the first instance, should proceed at once to particulars, and debate of the government and governors of the Church. This last course was ultimately agreed on as likely to stave off as long as possible the discussion of matters on which they already began to fear they might not be able to secure entire agreement. The next day careful and elaborate reports were presented to the Assembly by the second and third committees on the subject of the officers of the Church. The third committee presented the first draft of that marvellous paragraph which still stands at the head of the Propositions concerning Church-Government as usually printed in Scotland; 'Jesus Christ, upon whose shoulders the government is, whose name is called Wonderful, Counsellor, The mighty God, The everlasting Father, The Prince of Peace, of the increase of whose government and peace there shall be no end, etc., He being ascended far above all heavens and filling all things, etc., hath appointed officers in the Church the names whereof are these' (or, as it was slightly altered by the Assembly, 'hath given all officers necessary for the edification of His Church . . . some whereof are extraordinary, some ordinary'). To this is subjoined a list of their names and of the passages of Scripture which refer to them. The second com-

mittee gave in a paragraph which, with slight alterations, passed the Assembly on the following day, and is inserted by Gillespie in the *vidimus* prefixed to his notes, though it has not been formally embodied either in the Propositions or the Directory: 'Christ, who is priest, prophet, king and head of the Church, hath fulness of power, and containeth all other offices by way of eminency in himself, and therefore hath many of their names attributed to him.' To this were appended the Scripture proofs, and detailed enumeration of the names of office given to Christ in Scripture, viz., apostle, pastor or shepherd, bishop or overseer, teacher, minister or διάκονος. The 'captiousness' of the dissenting brethren began to show itself even here, Mr. Goodwin excepting against the introduction of Christ's headship because that was properly no office *in* the Church, but over it. In this debate also one of many conclusive proofs was furnished that however the divines may for convenience have availed themselves of the little gilt English Bibles, which, as Selden taunted them, they carried in their pockets, they could, when need required, refer to and discuss the original text.[1] The last place adduced by the committee in proof

[1] Lightfoot's *Journal*, Gillespie's notes, and the MS. minutes show how frequently and ably this was done. In fact there were other little gilt books then in use among ministers, specimens of which are still preserved,—Greek New Testaments bound up with English metrical Psalms, which Selden may have mistaken for the other.

of the kingship of Christ was Rev. xv. 3, where, according to the common or received text, he is called King of Saints (*βασιλεὺς τῶν ἁγίων*). Even Goodwin, who had objected to the other proofs as not quite germane to the subject, was disposed to pass this. But Seaman, the great Orientalist, reminded them that the reading in some copies was not *ἁγίων* but *αἰώνων*, and Lightfoot added that this reading was confirmed by the Syriac version, whereupon the passage was not further pressed.

Long and exhaustive debates followed about the officers of the Church, both the extraordinary, who were defined to be the apostle, the evangelist, and the prophet; and the ordinary, under which designation were included the pastor and teacher, the elder and the deacon. There was much discussion as to whether the teacher or doctor should be defined as an officer distinct from the pastor, as he had been by several of the Reformed Churches in their confessions or books of discipline, or should be represented simply as a pastor discharging a particular set of duties, which it was competent for all to discharge, but which, where there were more than one pastor, might be competently assigned to that one among them whose gifts best fitted him for teaching or expounding Scripture. The Independents contended not only that the offices were distinct, but also that every congregation, as far as possible, should have its doctor

as well as its pastor. The Scots rather inclined to distinguish the offices, but to hold, with their own second book of discipline, that the chief use of the doctor was in universities and schools. But the English divines, who were many of them reluctantly giving up bishops because they had no proper divine institution to urge for them, were altogether averse to recognising any divine institution of the doctor as essentially a distinct office-bearer from the pastor. Burgess, Herle, Temple, Palmer, and Vines all united in this, and Gataker reminded them that matters of divine institution were never left obscure and indefinite in Scripture, but 'like stars of the first magnitude shone out bright and clear.' On Monday, 20th November, while this debate was still going on, the other two Scotch Commissioners, Samuel Rutherfurd, who was to take so active a part in the debates of the Assembly, and Robert Baillie, who was to preserve in his letters such a life-like narrative of them, and whose first impressions of the Assembly I have quoted, were welcomed by the Prolocutor 'in a long harangue,' and took their places in the Assembly. But even with their help the Scotch Commissioners failed to carry the chief of the English divines fully with them in regard to the doctor's office, and with the assistance of Dr. Burgess and his committee Mr. Henderson endeavoured to arrange a 'temper,' as Lightfoot calls it, that is, an

accommodation which, by a benign interpretation, would leave both parties free to enjoy their own sense in the matter disputed between them. The first attempt did not go far enough to satisfy the English, but the second was more successful, and came near to the words which we still have in the Propositions concerning Church-Government as ultimately passed and printed. It was while this debate was going on that an order came from the House of Commons that the Assembly should report whether Mr. Rous's psalms might be authorised to be sung in churches, and each of the three committees was directed by the Assembly to examine and report on fifty of these psalms. All were carefully revised, and a favourable report on the version was ultimately presented to the Houses.

The subject of ruling elders was next taken up, and the discussions about their office were more keen and prolonged than those about the doctor's. Here too, at least for a time, the Scotch found themselves forsaken by a number of their best English friends, and that on a question which they were far more unwilling to settle by compromise than the preceding one. The following is Baillie's somewhat homely but graphic narrative of the proceedings upon this question :[1]—'The next point whereon we stick is ruling elders. Many a brave dispute have we had upon them these ten days....

[1] *Letters and Journals*, vol. ii. pp. 110, 111, also 116.

I profess my marvelling at the great learning, quickness, and eloquence, together with the great courtesy and discretion in speaking of these men. Sundry of the ablest were flat against the institution of any such office by divine right, as Dr. Smith, Dr. Temple, Mr. Gataker, Mr. Vines, Mr. Price, Mr. Hall, and many more.' Then follows a clause which I can reconcile with the facts of the case as disclosed in the MS. minutes of the Assembly only by taking it away from the sentence going before and prefixing it to the sentence which follows. 'Besides the Independents, who truly spake much and exceeding well, the most of the Synod were in our opinion, and reasoned bravely for it, such as Mr. Seaman, Mr. Walker, Mr. Marshall, Mr. Newcomen, Mr. Young, Mr. Calamy. Sundry times Mr. Henderson, Mr. Rutherford, Mr. Gillespie—all three spoke exceeding well. When all were tired it came to the question. There was no doubt we would have carried it by far more voices; but because the opposites were men very considerable, above all gracious and learned little Palmer, we agreed upon a committee to satisfy if it were possible the dissenters. For this end we met to-day, and I hope ere all be done we shall agree. All of them were ever willing to admit of elders in a prudential way (*i.e.* as an expedient human arrangement), but this to us seemed most dangerous and unhappy, and there-

fore was peremptorily rejected. We trust to carry at last, with the contentment of sundry once opposite, and the silence of all, their divine and Scriptural institution.'

'This,' Baillie adds, 'is a point of high consequence, and on no other do we expect so great difficulty except alone on Independency, wherewith we purpose not to meddle in haste till it please God to advance our army, which we expect will much assist our arguments.' How far the expectation expressed by Baillie in the above extract was ultimately realised is a question on which difference of opinion has long existed and may fairly exist, even among those who peruse with care the notes of the debates contained in the MS. minutes and in Lightfoot's *Journal*. My own opinion is that the utmost that the Assembly at this stage of its proceedings could be got to formulate was, that the office of elder was scripturally warrantable, not that it had been expressly instituted as an office that was to be of perpetual and *universal* obligation in the Church like the ministry, or that that was not to be regarded as a true or complete congregational Church which wanted it, but only 'that Christ furnisheth some with gifts for it and commission to exercise them *when called thereto*.' Their main scriptural warrant for it and for the ordination of those holding it was derived not from the New Testament but from the Old, from the example of

those elders of the Jewish people who had a place in the local councils and in the great Sanhedrim at Jerusalem along with the priests and Levites. 'As there were in the Jewish Church elders of the people joined with the priests and Levites in the government of the Church, so Christ, who hath instituted a government and governors ecclesiastical in the Church, hath furnished some in his Church, besides the ministers of the Word, with gifts for government and with commission to exercise the same *when called thereunto*, who are to join with the ministers in the government of the Church, [which officers reformed Churches commonly call elders'].[1] The texts adduced in proof of this proposition from the New Testament were Romans xii. 7, and 1st Corinthians xii. 28. But neither proof-text was held by many of them to amount to a positive and distinct divine institution of this office. The text which was appealed to throughout by more zealous defenders of the divine institution of the office was 1st Timothy v. 17, and had they got that inserted among the proof-texts they would have gained their case beyond dispute. On the other hand, I do not regard the common Presbyterian interpretation of that text as having been positively rejected by the Assembly at this date,—but as held over for further consideration if at any future period of their sittings God

[1] This was added on 14th Nov. 1644, Lightfoot's *Journal*, p. 330.

should give them further light and greater unanimity. While they did not indorse at this period what has been termed the 'presbyter theory' of the elder's office, they did not, as some assert, positively reject it; and ere the close of their sittings, when 'gracious and learned little Palmer' had gone to his reward, and the Scotch Commissioners had returned to their native land, Mr. Marshall, in preparing answers to the so-called Erastian Queries of the House of Commons, brought in to the Assembly from the committee the following proposition:—'The government which is *jure divino* is that which is by *preaching* and *ruling* elders in presbyteries and synods by way of subordination and appeal;' and certain persons named in the minute, being a majority of those then in attendance on the Assembly, judged the proposition true, and expressed their willingness to bring in the proofs of it: viz., Drs. Gouge and Burgess, Messrs. Marshall, Case, Whitaker, Delmy, Cawdrey, Calamy, Young, Sedgewick, Ashe, Seaman, Gipps, Green, Delamarch, Perne, Gibson, Walker, Bond, Valentine, Conant, and Strickland.[1] If they had in any sense rejected the 'presbyter theory' of the elder's office, they could never have entertained the proposition given above, and referred it to a committee to bring in the scripture proof of it. Neither could they have allowed the London ministers

[1] Minutes of the Assembly, p. 525.

under their very eyes to have maintained it in their *Jus Divinum Regiminis Ecclesiastici*, and to have adduced in its support the obnoxious text. Dury, who was a member of the Assembly and famous for his efforts to promote union among the Protestant Churches, in his *Model of Church-Government*, printed in the same year, advocated the same theory and by the same text, as did also Dickson and others in Scotland. James Guthrie of Stirling, in his *Treatise of Ruling Elders and Deacons*, took a similar view of the office and of this famous text, as Rutherfurd also did in his MS. Catechism. And I hold that it remains as free to any one owning the Westminster formularies to do so still as it was in the British Presbyterian Churches before the Westminster Assembly met.[1] If that Assembly did not indorse the presbyter theory, it certainly did not proscribe it in any manner of way, and most assuredly the Church of Scotland has not done so either in earlier or later times.

But the subject on which the most protracted and embittered discussions occurred was that from which Baillie and the Scottish Commissioners shrank as long as they possibly could, because they foresaw only too clearly that another force than that of argument was being arrayed against them, and was growing in strength and determination,[2]

[1] See Appendix, Note G.

[2] Baillie's *Letters and Journals*, vol. ii. p. 122.

and that however victorious they might be in the field of debate, and however large their majority in the Assembly, yet if their battalions in the other field did not keep up with the 'Ironsides' of Cromwell in deeds of daring and prowess, the conflict was likely to end, as in fact it did end, in that armed minority overruling Assembly, Parliament, and the majority of their supporters, overturning the constitution from its foundations, and setting up a military despotism—it might be a mild and beneficial one—but still replacing the despot Charles by one as absolute and uncontrolled by Parliament, if far more capable than he. The points to be discussed were, *inter alia*, whether many congregations might be under a common presbytery, or each with its own presbytery or eldership ought to form an independent church; 2d, whether appeals might be carried from congregations to a common or classical presbytery, and from that again to a provincial synod and national assembly, and might be authoritatively disposed of by them, or whether such synods and assemblies ought to be advisory only; 3d, whether the power of ordination to the ministry did not properly vest in the common or classical presbytery, or whether it might be competently, at its own pleasure, assumed by any single congregation which might without inconvenience associate with others. These were questions which, apart from political scheming and personal

feeling might, one would have thought, have been calmly and temperately, and within reasonable time, discussed and settled, so far as the Assembly or the Parliament could claim to settle them. At first even, according to the confession of Baillie, the Independents conducted themselves with becoming modesty and good temper, and spoke ably and well. They signed the manifesto of the leading members of Assembly, dissuading from 'the gathering of churches till the questions in dependence should be determined.'[1] In that 'Apologetical Narration' in which they prematurely brought the controversy before the public, they claimed for themselves 'forbearance in the midst of provocations,' 'quiet and strong patience,' agreement with their Presbyterian brethren in matters of doctrine, and readiness to yield in matters of discipline 'to the utmost latitude of their light and conscience,' desiring only 'a latitude in some lesser differences' in which they might not be able to come up to the common rule.[2] But they allowed themselves to be

[1] *Certain considerations to dissuade men from further gathering of churches at this juncture*, the last being that it is not to be doubted but the counsels of the Assembly of Divines and the care of Parliament will be not only to reform and set up religion throughout the nation, but will concur to preserve whatever shall appear to be the rights of particular congregations according to the Word, and to bear with such whose consciences cannot in all things conform to the public rule so far as the Word of God would have them borne withal. (E. 79, No. 16.)

[2] Even after the expulsion of Dr. Featley the injunctions of the Houses against divulging the proceedings of the Assembly by

unduly provoked by some passionate replics which were made to their somewhat untimely publication, and the debates in the Assembly not only became keen but embittered. Candour and charity fell sadly into abeyance on both sides, and things went from bad to worse till the attack culminated in that disgraceful outbreak to which in my last I referred, when Nye in the presence of his parliamentary friends, arraigned that Presbyterian system, about which he had previously said such kindly things, as prejudicial to the civil state, and maintained that the system of gathering into one the Churches of an entire kingdom tended to encroach on the civil

printing or writing continued to be ignored. The following notice by an intelligent correspondent of the *Mercurius Britannicus* will show how widely hopes of a favourable settlement at this time prevailed :—'The Assembly have made as yet a happy, peaceable, and learned progress through the Articles of religion and through the officers of the Church, extraordinary and ordinary, and they have discussed all by a lighter brightness than their own—that of the holy Scriptures. I cannot but expect from them an excellent draught of government with a glory more than ordinary, [they] having been so long in the mount with God: for this I dare affirm there is almost the piety and learning of two nations, England and Scotland, in one room.' Then after referring, in terms of high commendation, to their letter to the foreign reformed Churches, the writer proceeds : 'There is of late a paper set out by our reverend brethren, but by no Independents, viz., Mr. Goodwin, Mr. Nye, Mr. Burroughs, Mr. Greenhill, Mr. Bridge. In this you may see how long they hold us by the hand, and where they let go and take us by the finger. They have the same worship, preaching, praying, and form of sacraments, the same church officers, doctors, pastors, elders, deacons, the same church censures in the abridgment but not at large. So I suppose here is all our difference, yet they allow an equivalency to our presbytery and

domain, and was thrice over pernicious to the State.[1] This meant seemingly that he was prepared to make common cause with the Erastians, and rather than allow the majority to have the orderly Presbyterian establishment they desired, would unite with these in cramping the independence of the Church, and in discrediting every form of church-government but his own. Had he been professedly a voluntary, one could to some extent have understood him, but besides the fact of his holding a parish in a national Church (which drew into one the Churches of the kingdom), in the hope of latitude to be allowed him under the new government, he ought to have remembered that in this respect the Presbyterians were but claiming what almost all the reformed Churches claimed, and that the dishonour he cast on the Scotch extended to all the rest. The excitement and ill-feeling occasioned by this unfair attack on the system the majority favoured was never thoroughly got over on either side, nor was confidence ever again fully restored between them,

councils and excommunication of Churches, which is consociation with Churches and non-communion with Churches. Is it not a pity we should break for such a little knot in a golden thread? Only this I must say, they tell us how disengaged and disinterested they were in their holy pursuit after a form, and had no state or kingdom in their eyes, and that may be the reason (with reverence to their cause and persons) why they straiten the form to single congregations and make it of no more latitude, and so have happened their differences from us—having rather the model of their private Churches in their thoughts to provide them a more public.' (E. 81, No. 20.)

1 See Appendix, note H, for Rutherfurd and Gillespie's view.

though Nye for a time exerted himself to be unusually complaisant to the Scotch. They had trusted him once, and in reliance on the fair professions he made in the day of his country's sore distress, had hazarded their earthly all in a struggle in which they were only indirectly concerned, and in which Henderson for a time had doubted whether they ought to take an active part at all; and to be told so bluntly to their face that their beloved presbytery was thrice over pernicious to the civil state by one who had so lately been a suppliant to their Assembly as well as to their Parliament for aid, and had spoken so kindly of their order, was an act which fully warranted them to be on their guard in all their dealings with him thereafter.

The debates were resumed again and again. The nature of the Church and the rights of congregations were insisted on by one side, the power of presbyteries in government and ordination, and the right of appeals to even higher courts, and the examples of such furnished under the Jewish as well as under the Christian dispensation, by the other, till every possible argument had been adduced, and both sides were thoroughly exhausted. Reasons of dissent from the decision of some of the questions in dispute were given in, and answers to the reasons were drawn up. 'Truly,' says Baillie, 'if the cause were good, the men have

plenty of learning, wit, eloquence, and above all boldness and stiffness to make it out; but when they had wearied themselves and over-wearied us all, we found the most they had to say against the presbytery was but curious idle niceties, yea that all they could bring was no ways concluding. Every one of their arguments, when it had been pressed to the full in one whole session and sometimes in two or three, was voiced and found to be light unanimously by all but themselves.'[1] Dr. Stoughton's commentary on this account of Baillie hardly shows his usual candour:—'The reasoning of the Independents,' he says, 'would of course be found wanting when weighed in the Presbyterian balance, and the majority of the Assembly would naturally consider their own votes an ample refutation of their adversaries' arguments.'[2] But the whole Assembly was not, as he admits in other places, wedded to the Presbyterian system. A number of the members had leanings to another, and were only brought to acquiesce in the Presbyterian as allowable in consequence of these debates, and the fact that all pronounced against the Independents was a thing of more importance than he grants, especially when we couple it with the other fact that these had said in their Apologetical Narration that they had with deliberation

[1] *Letters, etc.*, vol. ii. p. 145.
[2] *Church of Civil Wars*, vol. i. p. 419.

selected this theatre whereon to plead their cause, as one they might count on to be fair and just, where much of the piety, wisdom, and learning of two kingdoms are met in one, honoured and assisted with the presence of the worthies of both Houses.[1] But this was not all. The mass of the members of Parliament who heard the debates soon began to give practical if dilatory and partial evidence that they knew if victory was to be decided by votes either of the Assembly or of their own supporters, it would not declare for the Independents. Many endeavoured to get a fair accommodation for them within, others to secure them a toleration outside the national Church; but few indeed would have ventured to pronounce that they had beaten their opponents in argument, or won over any considerable part of the Puritan laity, and that the national Church, to give general satisfaction to these, must be reconstituted after their model. On the contrary, votes began to pass the Houses which showed clearly that the national Church was to be Presbyterian not Congregational in its polity, and that the Churches of the kingdom were to be gathered into one whole, though to guard against consequences Nye had insinuated its independence was to be cramped or compromised by appeals being allowed from its highest courts to Parliament. It was at this

[1] Pp. 27, etc.

juncture, and with Dr. Hetherington[1] I incline to think that possibly it was to put off this work of reconstruction till he and his party were stronger and able to overbear those they could not outvote, that Cromwell obtained an order from the House of Commons to refer it to the Committee of both kingdoms 'to consider the differences of the members of Assembly in regard to church-government, and to endeavour an union between them if possible, and otherwise to consider how far tender consciences that cannot in all things come up to the rule to be established may be borne with according to the Word.' 'They knew,' says Baillie,[2] 'when we had debated and had come to voicing, they could carry all by plurality in the Committee; and though they should not, yet they were confident, when the report came to the House of Commons, to get all they desired there passed. So without the Assembly they purposed immediately from this Committee to get a toleration of Independency concluded in the House of Commons long before anything should be gotten so much as reported from the Assembly anent presbyteries. Here it was that God helped us by [*i.e.* beyond] our expectation. Mr. Rouse, Mr. Tate, and Mr. Prideaux, among the ablest of the House of Commons, opposed them to their face. My Lord Chancellor, with a spate of divine eloquence,

[1] *History of Westminster Assembly*, p. 209.
[2] *Letters and Journals*, vol. ii. p. 237.

Warriston with the sharp points of manifold arguments, Maitland, Mr. Henderson, Mr. Gillespie, and all made their designs to appear so clearly that many did dislike them; yet Harry Vane went on violently.'

Notwithstanding this unpromising commencement many conferences took place between the leaders of both sides of the Assembly under the direction of this Committee, and these at a later period were renewed, and various written papers passed between them which were ultimately published, first under the title of 'The Reasons presented by the Dissenting brethren against certain Propositions concerning Church Government, together with the Answers of the Assembly of Divines to these Reasons of Dissent,' etc.; and again under the title, 'The Grand Debate concerning Presbytery and Independency, by the Assembly of Divines convened at Westminster by authority of Parliament.' Full particulars as to the debates on Church-Government and Ordination, both in the Assembly and before the Committee on Accommodation, are given by Dr. Hetherington in his history, and I the more readily refer you to his pages for details, as that is undoubtedly the most valuable part of his book. It is sad to think that men should have come so near as these men did in matters of doctrine and worship, and so far in church-order too, and yet

should not have been able amicably to arrange the remaining points of difference between them. But the more I have studied the documents the less inclined do I feel to throw the whole blame, or even the larger share of it, on the Presbyterians while admitting that there were faults on their side as well as on the other, infirmities of temper, failure in candour, and thorough straightforwardness, and at times also too stiff and narrow a view of the whole case, and that the Scottish representatives were not more perfect than their neighbours. But, on the other hand, it is to be borne in mind that infirmities of temper and uncandid dealing were not monopolised by them. These failings were shown, at any rate, to an equal extent by their opponents, and they were but a small minority of the nation—probably not as yet in larger proportion among the ministry outside, than they were in the Assembly itself. It was something akin to presumption (and only the more offensive presumption—obstruction we should call it nowadays—if ostentatiously backed by their friends in the army) to demand that the national Church should either be constituted according to the model they advocated, or should get no constitution at all till legal security outside of it were first assured to them. Thus far certainly the Presbyterians had reason on their side when they said: Settle first what the rule is to be;

make the national Church as comprehensive as you can, preserving its Protestant character; but do this without more delay, and so give reasonable satisfaction to those who are likely to constitute it, before you proceed to make arrangements for a small minority who are not likely to enter it, and who in fact tell you they are not likely to do so unless you yield to them in other matters than those of the constitution of presbyteries and the authority of synods. Neither were they altogether without reason, according to the generally received principles of their day, when, while promising to forbear with brethren so orthodox in doctrine and consistent in life—even if they elected to remain outside the Church—they refused to do this by opening a door for the toleration of *all* sects and opinions, even of those who, if they got the upper hand again, would tolerate none but themselves. The orthodox Independents as yet hardly went that length, and even Cromwell in the height of his power did not venture practically to concede that.[1]

1 'We are degenerated into that old, dark, and Egyptian spirit that we seemed to have escaped . . . in the putting a stop unto any further light and further reformation above what their carnal principles would bear, and in compliance with and clasping about the powers of the world for their defence therein, and for the putting a check upon all further truth and reformation than that which consisted with the safety of their place, order, and nation, and suchlike worldly interests; which course, as it was the ruin of them that are already fallen, so will it prove to this generation if they repent not and do their first works.'—*A lamenting word, showing that there is a desertion come upon us*, etc. London, 1657.

Dr. Owen enumerated no fewer than sixteen fundamentals which all who were to be tolerated should hold. The amount of indulgence the majority were prepared to grant them within the Church was such as their own predecessors would have accepted with gratitude at the hands of the bishops. They were to be permitted to hold lectureships and even parishes without being subject to the *classes*, provided they did not attempt to gather congregations from other parishes. Their adherents in other parishes, if they ordinarily attended their parish churches, were not to be pressed to communicate there, and would no doubt have been winked at in communicating now and then elsewhere. But their claim to be allowed to hold charges in the national Church, and yet to gather congregations out of other parishes and congregations within its bounds, was one that could not possibly be conceded, and to that they tenaciously adhered. Neither could their claim be granted to exclude from sealing ordinances without appeal, all in their parishes who, however credible their profession might be, or blameless their life, did not exhibit such evidence of a work of grace as to satisfy the congregation that they were truly regenerate persons. In this they had the Parliament more decidedly hostile to them than even the Assembly, and were the first to feel the effects of that Erastian interference which they had themselves rather encouraged. It

was on this rock the scheme of accommodation was really and finally wrecked, according to their own confession, 'as the House had not thought meet as yet to give power by a law to purge the congregations, and as the rule for purging proposed by the Assembly was not only short but exclusive of what they thought was required in church members.' Gillespie, Henderson, Reynolds, and many others, would have yielded much to retain them within the reconstituted church, but this they could hardly yield without turning their backs on the National Reformed churches generally, and becoming in fact Independents themselves.

I have said that the Independents did not venture to plead for a general or unlimited toleration of sects in the Assembly. So far from it that, while they generally objected to the *expediency* of inserting in the Confession of Faith the strong statement in chap. xx., that for publishing of such opinions, or maintaining of such practices as are contrary to the light of nature and the known principles of Christianity, whether concerning faith, worship, or conversation, etc., heretics may be proceeded against, not only by the censures of the Church, but by the power of the civil magistrate, only one of them ventured to record his dissent against the *truth* of the proposition.[1] The leading Independent ministers were not so greatly in

[1] Minutes of the Assembly, p. 297.

advance of the Presbyterians in regard to toleration as is generally supposed, and their brethren in New England even lagged behind many of the Presbyterians in old England. It was only by circumstances that they were led latterly to make common cause with the sectaries. The earlier utterances even of such a man as Owen, already referred to, are not much in advance of the following earlier ones of Gillespie:[1] 'When I speak against liberty of conscience, it is far from my meaning to advise any rigorous or violent course against such as, being sound in the faith, holy in life, and not of a turbulent or factious carriage, do differ in smaller matters from the common rule. "Let that day be darkness, let not God regard it from above, neither let the light shine upon it," in which it shall be said that the children of God in Britain are enemies and persecutors of each other.' They are still less in advance of those expressed by the ministers of Essex in their *Testimony to the truth of Jesus Christ*, in which, while soliciting the ratification of the Confession of Faith and the establishment of church-government as set forth by the Assembly, and mourning that under pretext of liberty of conscience, Popery, Arminianism, So-

[1] Sermon before House of Commons. To the Assembly he said, 'I wish that instead of toleration there may be a mutual endeavour for a happy accommodation . . . There is a certain measure of forbearance, but it is not so seasonable now to be talking of forbearance but of mutual endeavours for accommodation.'

cinianism, and various other heresies are tolerated, they yet state that they 'judge it to be most agreeable to Christianity that tender consciences of dissenting brethren be tenderly dealt withal.'[1] I have shown you in a former lecture that some of the earlier Puritans had very sound ideas on this subject of toleration.[2] The plea for it published in the beginning of the 17th century, even if it be not, as it professes, the production of a Puritan, would not have come out in the name of one, if there had been none among them favourable to the principle of toleration at that date. Nay, even in those times of excitement and commotion, when from their dread of the wild opinions that came to light on the removal of the old ecclesiastical restraints, several were giving utterance to very rash and narrow sentiments, there were others among *them* as well as among the Independents who were working their way to sounder views. Take for instance the following from the *Vindication of the Presbyterial Government and Ministry* issued by the Provincial Assembly of London in 1649:—

'We abhor an over rigid urging of uniformity in circumstantial things, and are far from the cruelty of that giant who laid upon a bed all he took, and those who were too long he cut them even with his bed, and such as were too short he stretched out to the length of it. God hath not made all men of a length nor height. Men's parts, gifts, graces, differ; and if there should be no forbearance in matters of inferior

[1] E. 438, No. 4, p. 3.

[2] See p. 16.

alloy, all the world would be perpetually quarrelling. If you would fully know our judgments herein we will present them in these two propositions : 1. That it is the duty of all Christians to study to enjoy the ordinances of Christ in unity and uniformity as far as it is possible.' Then, after showing that Scripture calls for such unity as well as for purity, and that God had promised it and Christ had prayed for it, they proceed to argue that it was certainly a duty incumbent on all Christians to labour after it. 2. 'That it is their duty to hold communion together as one church in what they agree, and in this way of union mutually to tolerate and bear with one another in lesser differences,' according to the golden rule of the Apostle set forth in Phil. iii. 15, 16. Then, after stating that this was the practice of the primitive Christians, they proceed : 'We beseech you therefore, brethren, that you would endeavour to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace, for there is one body and one Spirit, even as ye are called in one hope of your calling, one Lord, one faith, one baptism. . . For our parts we do here manifest our willingness (as we have already said) to accommodate with you, according to the word, in a way of union, and (such of us as are ministers) *to preach up and to practise a mutual forbearance and toleration in all things that may consist with the fundamentals of religion, with the power of godliness, and with that peace which Christ hath established in his church.* But to make ruptures in the body of Christ and to divide church from church, and to set up church against church, and to gather churches out of true churches, and because we differ in some things to hold church communion in nothing, this we think hath no warrant out of the word of God, and will introduce all manner of confusion in churches and families, and not only disturb but in a little time destroy the power of godliness, purity of religion, and peace of Christians, and set open a wide gap to bring in Atheism, Popery, heresy, and all manner of wickedness.'—Pp. 119-121.

Or we may take the views of Dr. Reynolds, as set out at length in his two sermons preached before the

Parliament after Cromwell's death when the Presbyterian Church may be said to have got a new lease of power and been in more hopeful case than ever before. In the case of the unavoidable differences of good men, 'there ought to be mutual charity, meekness, moderation, tolerance, humanity used, not to judge, despise, reject, insult over one another, not to deal with our weaker brethren . . . as with aliens, but as with brethren.' In order to this, he says we 'must distinguish of opinions,' some being fundamental relating to those necessary doctrines on which the House of God is built, the errors contrary whereunto are pernicious. Others are only in the superstructure—not points of faith but questions of the schools. Such, in the Apostle's time, were the disputes touching meats and drinks and days; and such in our days are those 'touching forms of discipline and government in the Church wherein men may abound in their own sense with meekness and submission to the spirits of the Prophets.' 'When the foundation and necessary doctrines of law and gospel, of faith and worship and obedience are safe . . . there, in differences of an inferior nature which do not touch the essentials . . . of religion, *mutual tolerance*, meekness and tenderness, is to be used.' In regard to the duty of the magistrate he says: 'If undue passions and exasperations happen, the Christian magistrate may interpose by his authority to forbid and moderate them.

He may . . . call colloquies wherein there may be a fraternal and amicable debate and composure of them. And if after all this, differences be not perfectly healed . . . brethren must mutually bear with one another and pray for one another, and love one another; whereunto they have already attained they must walk by the same rule and mind the same things, and wherein they yet differ, wait humbly upon God to reveal his will unto them; *where one and the same straight road to heaven is kept, a small difference of paths doth not hinder travellers from coming to the same inn at night.*'[1] 'It admits of being shown,' says Dr. M'Crie in his *Annals of English Presbytery*,[2] 'that even the hypothetical intolerance of some of our Presbyterian fathers differed essentially from Romish and Prelatic tyranny. . . . In point of fact it never led them to persecute, it never applied the rack to the flesh, or slaked its vengeance in blood or the maiming of the body . . . If there is one point in which the English Presbyterians may be said to have failed, it was in their extreme reluctance to *impose* subscription to their creed, even as a term of ministerial communion. So sorely had they smarted from oaths and subscriptions under the *régime* of Laud and his high church predecessors, that they had conceived a rooted aversion to all sorts of "*impositions*," name and thing.' Even Baillie, who was more narrow than

[1] Reynolds' Works, pp. 937, 948. [2] Pp. 150, 191.

many of the English, in his *Dissuasive from the Errors of the Time*, thus endeavours carefully to distinguish between what he desired and the Court of High Commission had practised: 'But if once the government of Christ (meaning of course presbytery) were set up among us we know not what would impede it *by the sword of God alone, without any secular violence*, to banish out of the land those spirits of error, in all meekness, humility, and love, by the force of truth convincing and satisfying the minds of the seduced. Episcopal courts were never fitted for the reclaiming of minds. Their prisons, their fines, their pillories, their nose-slitting, ear-croppings, and cheek-burnings did but hold down the flame to break out in season with the greater rage. But the reformed presbytery doth proceed in a *spiritual method* eminently fitted for the gaining of hearts; they go on with the offending party with all respect: they deal with him in all gentleness from weeks to months, from months sometimes to years, before they come near to any censure.' No doubt it was by means of preaching and teaching, by church discipline and censures that the best of them intended and hoped to keep the English as well as the Scottish nation united in one great national Church, but whether they would have succeeded had they been allowed untrammelled to carry out their purpose, or whether, if they had failed, the more narrow-

minded would have refrained from invoking the aid of the civil magistrate to supplement their censures with his pains and penalties, he would be a bold man who would pronounce too confidently. In Cromwell's own parliaments the majority at times were found ready to go further in that direction than the Protector was disposed to allow. And in the Long Parliament, which he first 'purged' and then dismissed, as well as in the Assembly, there were many 'who were frightened out of calm thought and wise consideration by the monstrous apparitions which were rising on all sides and threatening their newly established church,' and who 'acted as if they had been stricken with panic in a great emergency when their most sacred interests were exposed to imminent hazards of which they had little knowledge and no experience.'[1]

[1] Halley, as quoted by M'Crie (p. 312). See also Note I.

LECTURE VII.

THE DIRECTORY FOR THE PUBLIC WORSHIP OF GOD.

IN my last Lecture I gave you an account of the proceedings of the Westminster Assembly while it was engaged in debating the constitution of the Church, the various orders of officers who were to bear rule in it, and the gradation of courts through which that rule was to be exercised, from the lesser presbytery or session of an individual congregation, up through the greater presbytery or classis of associated neighbouring churches, and the provincial synod or meeting of the representatives of neighbouring classes, to the national Synod or Assembly of the representatives of all the presbyteries or synods of the kingdom by whose direction they proposed that in matters ecclesiastical all should be guided and controlled. In my lecture to-day I am to give you a succinct account of the Directory for Public Worship which was elaborated while these debates were going on, and which was the first of the formularies they prepared and completed in terms of their Solemn League and Covenant. In doing this I may have to some extent to recapitulate what at various

times I have already written on these subjects. Having had to discuss them more than once already I should deal as unfairly by you as by myself if I did not at times content myself with revising or expanding the materials I had previously collected.

The order to prepare such a directory was given to the Assembly by the two Houses on 12th Oct. 1643, along with the order to 'confer and treat of such a discipline and government as may be most agreeable to God's holy word,' etc. Both orders were proceeded in simultaneously, or taken up alternately at various periods during the years 1643 and 1644. The divines, however, were far more at one with respect to the worship than with respect to the government of the Church. Whatever may have been their theoretical views of the lawfulness of strictly imposed forms or of liturgies leaving room for free prayer, all were prepared, in the interests of peace and Christian union, 'to lay aside the former liturgy,' with the many burdensome rites and ceremonies that had previously been imposed, and in place of a 'formed' liturgy to content themselves with a simple Directory as a guide and help to the minister in the various parts of the public worship. And so, though there were occasionally keen debates about certain matters of detail, as about the profession of faith to be made by a parent when presenting his child for baptism, the qualifications to be required of com-

municants and the exact position to be taken by them at or about the table in the act of communicating, the work of preparing this Directory went on more rapidly and far more smoothly than that of adjusting the 'Propositions concerning Church Government and Ordination,' and elaborating the practical Directory for church-government and ordination of ministers.

It was on the 17th October—the day after that solemn fast to which I have previously referred—when they made their first arrangements about the order in which questions of government were to be discussed, that, according to Neal,[1] they also empowered a committee to make arrangements for drawing up a directory for worship. This was probably the Grand Committee of divines and members of the Houses which was intrusted with the charge of all matters relating to the covenanted uniformity between the kingdoms. At a meeting of that Committee[2] held apparently on 16th Dec. 1643, a sub-committee of five (yet without excluding any member of committee who chose to attend) was appointed to meet with the Scottish delegates to prepare the directory and submit it to a committee, and through them to the Assembly. This sub-committee consisted of Mr. Marshall, who was chairman, and Messrs. Palmer, Goodwin, Young, and Herle, with the Scottish commissioners. To

[1] Vol. iii. p. 141. [2] Baillie's *Letters*, vol. ii. p. 117.

the latter was assigned the duty of drafting what related to public prayer and the administration of the sacraments, and to Mr. Young that of drawing up what related to the reading of the Scriptures. It was devolved on the chairman to prepare a paper on the preaching of the word, and on Mr. Palmer to prepare one on catechising. Their first meetings, according to Baillie,[1] were not very promising. Goodwin, who does not seem to have had any part specially assigned to him, was disposed to make trouble, and the papers prepared by Marshall and Palmer were not quite to the mind of our critical countrymen. But Goodwin was propitiated, the papers of Marshall and Palmer were handed to the Scottish Commissioners for revision, and thereafter matters seem to have made more rapid progress. The Committee was able to present its first report to the Assembly on 24th May 1644. The report, according to Lightfoot, was a large report 'concerning the Lord's day and prayer and preaching, which held the Assembly in work all the next week.'[2] From time to time the remaining parts of the Directory were brought forward and discussed, especially during the months of June, July, and November, and before the end of the year, after more or less of upwards of seventy sessions had been spent on it, the whole of it passed the Assembly. The first portion of it, embracing

[1] *Letters*, vol. ii. pp. 117, 118, 123. [2] *Journal*, p. 277.

probably the preface, the ordinary services for the Lord's day, and the order for the administration of the sacraments, was presented to the Houses on 21st November (by Dr. Burgess and several other divines), and without delay was carefully examined and revised by them. A number of verbal alterations were made chiefly by the House of Commons. The words 'both ordinary and extraordinary' were struck out of the first title, also the words 'as in the Church of Scotland' after the clause as to communicants sitting '*about* the table or at it.' The second paragraph in the section of the celebration of the Communion bearing on the qualification of communicants was re-committed to a large committee. This committee, on 30th November, reported their opinion that the paragraph given in by the Assembly should be left out,[1] and that in lieu thereof the words 'the ignorant and the scandalous *are not fit* to receive the sacrament of the Lord's

[1] *Journals of House of Commons*, vol. iii. p. 710. It is not quite clear what was the literal form of the paragraph given in by the Assembly. I have not found it in the manuscript Minutes. Under date of 6th June it is given by Lightfoot in the following shape: 'None to be admitted, but such as, being baptized, are found upon careful examination by the ministers, before the officers, to have a competent measure of knowledge of the grounds of religion, and ability to examine themselves, and who profess their willingness and promise to submit themselves to all the ordinances of Christ [or thus, *who give just grounds in the judgment of charity to conceive that there is faith and regeneration wrought in them*]. The ignorant, scandalous, etc., not to be admitted, nor strangers unless they be well known.' But he has not given the preceding paragraph *verbatim* as passed by the Assembly, and when, under date of 12th

Supper' should be substituted. This report was adopted by the House. On a subsequent day part of the section on the visitation of the sick was proposed to be left out; but whether in fact it was so it is very difficult to determine. A few verbal alterations were suggested by the House of Lords and adopted by the Commons. The most important of them was, that to the direction in the section of singing of Psalms 'that every one that can read is to have a Psalm-book,' their Lordships proposed to add the words, 'and to have a Bible.' The Commons, improving on the suggestion, proposed to transfer the words to the section of the public reading of the Scriptures, and developed them into a paragraph similar in form to the one in the section on singing of Psalms. 'Besides public reading of the Holy Scriptures every person that can read is to be exhorted to read the Scriptures privately (and all others that cannot read, if not disabled by age or otherwise, are likewise to be exhorted to learn to read) and to have a Bible.'

November, he refers again to this one he does not insert it exactly in the same form. He omits the clause relating to baptism, which is also wanting in the corresponding paragraph of Henderson's *Government and Order of the Church*, which pretty closely resembles the above. The words within brackets suggested by Henderson as a compromise with the Independents were probably left out at the November revision, and in its practical Directory the Assembly explicitly asserted, 'Although the truth of conversion and regeneration be necessary to every worthy communicant for his own comfort and benefit, yet those only are to be by the eldership excluded . . . who are found by them ignorant or scandalous.'

The Ordinance of Parliament superseding the Book of Common Prayer, and establishing and ordering to be put in practice the Directory for Public Worship, as thus revised by the Houses, bears the date of 3d January 1644, *i.e.* according to our present reckoning, January 1645. But in reality it was not passed till the following day, when the Commons' amendments on the Lords' amendments were accepted by the Lords, nor, though ordered to be printed forthwith, was it actually proceeded with till March. The reason of this delay will immediately appear. The formulary was meant to be a common directory for the churches of the three kingdoms, and though the Scottish Commissioners had assented to it in the shape in which it passed the Assembly, yet as their General Assembly and Parliament were about to meet it was manifestly expedient that their assent also should be obtained before the book, as altered, was issued. So it was taken down to Scotland by Gillespie and Baillie, and in due form was laid before the Scottish Assembly and Parliament. On 5th March two further alterations on it were proposed at Westminster at the request (not, as some suppose, of the Independents, but) of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. Neither Baillie nor Gillespie who carried it down give us any hint of this, nor does the Act of the Assembly approving it, nor the supplementary articles for

keeping of greater uniformity in accordance with it, supply the omission, unless by the statement in the Act that the Assembly had *revised* as well as examined and approved the Directory. But the entries[1] in the Journals of the House of Commons expressly bear that the proposed changes were desired by the Church of Scotland, and those in the Journals of the other House that the application for them had been presented through the Assembly

[1] That in the *Journals of the House of Commons* (vol. iv. p. 70) is: 'Mr. Tate reported from the Assembly some few alterations desired by the Church of Scotland to be made in the Directory for Public Worship; the which were read and upon the question assented unto and carried to the Lords for their concurrence.' The entry in their Journals (vol. vii. p. 264) is as usual more detailed: 'A message was brought from the House of Commons by Zouch Tate, Esq., to let their Lordships know that the House of Commons have received a paper from the Assembly of Divines, wherein they offer some alterations in the Directory to which the House of Commons have agreed, and their Lordships' concurrence is desired therein. The alterations were read as follows: (1) In the administration of the sacrament of baptism, after the word "negligent," add these words, "requiring his solemn promise for the performance of his duty." After these the words, "It is recommended to the parent to make a profession of his faith, by answering to these or the like questions," are to be left out; and these three questions following are to be left out, viz., "Dost thou believe in God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost? Dost thou hold thyself bound to observe all that Christ hath commanded thee, and wilt thou endeavour so to do? Dost thou desire to have this child baptized into the faith and profession of Jesus Christ?" (2) Instead of the words in the Directory for the solemnization of marriage, "in the place of the public meeting of the congregation, in some church or chapel," these words to be inserted: "in the place appointed by authority for public worship." Agreed to. "The answer returned was that this House agrees to these alterations now brought up."'

of Divines, whose own minutes of 6th March contain only the vaguest possible reference to 'the alterations last made.' Thus the 'faschious' and sometimes 'rude and humorous opposition' of Mr. David Calderwood and some others, who were tenacious of former Scottish customs, appears to a certain extent to have been too strong to be so completely overborne even by Gillespie and Baillie, as has been long supposed. Though no noise was made in the business, and all was 'quietly and calmly' settled, yet every effort was made 'to get satisfaction to Mr. David' in most of the things to which he had objected. After consultation with his colleagues in London a draft of the Act about the Directory passed by the Scottish Assembly and ratified by the Scottish Parliament was sent down by Gillespie to the meeting of the Commission (intrusted with the printing of the minutes of the Assembly), 'having no alteration,' it is said, 'but in words, and the substance being the same, only it is thought clearer, and that it will sound better here.' This draught in the enacting clauses not only approved the preface of the Directory, but intimated that the preface expressed the intent and meaning of the Directory, and to this extent at least Gillespie pressed its adoption with special urgency. He deprecated a too strait imposition even of a Directory, holding 'that the more straitly it is imposed, it will the more breed scruples and

create controversies which wise men should do well to prevent, and the rather lest we cross the principles of the good old Nonconformists by too strait impositions of things in their own nature indifferent, such as many (though not all) be in the Directory.'[1] In England it had been ratified *according to the meaning and intent of the ordinance of Parliament*, which was probably meant to be pretty strictly enforced, and in fact required to be so to insure the disuse of the Book of Common Prayer. In Scotland, on the other hand, it was ratified according to the intent of the preface, which was meant to leave greater latitude, and to conserve that spirit of freedom which the tolerant rubrics of the Book of Common Order had done so much to cherish. Accordingly, while customs and practices which could plead no written law in their favour, and were not expressly sanctioned by the new Directory, were to be dropped, though lawful in themselves, not only were the Scottish usages of the communicants, in the Lord's Supper, communicating only at the table and distributing the elements among themselves to be retained, but also other usages which could plead the authority of the Books of Discipline or of Acts of the Assembly, and were not 'otherwise ordered' by the Directory. Perhaps it was with a similar view that they urged even at the last moment the

[1] Baillie, *Letters and Journals*, vol. ii., Appendix, pp. 505, 506.

striking out of the very vague questions the southern divines had permitted to be addressed to the parent presenting his child for baptism, viz., that they might be at liberty to retain the practice sanctioned by their own Book of Common Order and various Acts of Assembly of exacting a fuller profession of faith at that time.

The first edition of the Directory published in England bears the date of 1644, but it was really printed in the month of March, which according to our present reckoning would have fallen to the year 1645. The order for printing was issued on the 13th, and appears to have been executed by the 18th of March, all having been carefully prepared for it beforehand. The Scotch edition of 1645 was printed, not from the manuscript copy submitted to the Assembly in January, but from the English printed edition, and besides a number of insignificant variations from it in the spelling of certain words, only departs from it in placing the table of contents at the beginning instead of the end of the book, substituting in place of the Act of the English Parliament the Act of the Scottish General Assembly approving the Directory and enjoining its observance, and inserting between the first and second titles of the book the Act of the Scottish Parliament ratifying it, and the Acts of the Committee of Estates and of the Commission of the Assembly authorising the

printing of it. As the latter bears the date of 27th May this edition can hardly have been printed before June 1645. It was not till August that an Act passed the Scottish Parliament for publishing it. I have before me complete copies of these original English and Scottish editions of the Directory for the Public Worship of God. The former belonged to the Rev. Immanuel Bourne, one of the ministers appointed by the English Parliament to ordain ministers for the city of London. It has prefixed to it the ordinance for the ordination of ministers, and appended in manuscript 'a speech at the sacrament March 27th, 1659,' and 'a speech after the sacrament.' The latter, which is now the property of the University of St. Andrews, appears to have belonged originally to Dr. William Moore, who was Archdeacon of St. Andrews under the second episcopacy, and left a number of valuable Puritan books to the University. A neat and accurate reprint of the original Scottish edition of the Directory, with a valuable historical introduction and copious illustrative notes, was published by the Rev. Dr. Leishman in 1868.[1]

[1] The spelling has been modernised, but I have noticed only three other minute deviations from the original in the reprint. These are the omission in the directory for baptism (p. 306) of 'the' before 'right use of their baptism' and 'of' before 'all other promises;' and the repetition in the directory for the celebration of the communion (p. 310) of 'one,' so that it reads,

From the tenor of the preface to the Directory as well as from the testimony of Gillespie, Baillie, and others engaged in framing it, we seem warranted to infer that it was not intended by its framers to form a new liturgy, nor to authorise or encourage the ministers of the Church to turn the help and furniture it provided into fixed and unvarying forms of prayer and exhortation. No doubt Lightfoot and one or two of the others thought it dangerous to say anything against such a practice. But while the lawfulness of stated forms of prayer was not positively denied, everything that could be prudently done was done to persuade the ministers not to rest satisfied with these. It was urged as a special ground of objection to the old liturgy that

'He may be one with us and we one with him' instead of 'and we with him.' The Acts of the Scottish Parliament ratifying the Directory, and the Acts of the Committee of Estates and of the Commission of Assembly authorising it to be printed, are not given. The illustrative notes are very interesting, but the impression they leave on the mind seems to me to be that rather more is made of the views of certain speakers than facts warrant. The extracts from speeches of members, with three or four exceptions, are wonderfully accurate. But it must always be borne in mind that these are but selections, and at best exhibit only the sentiments of the speakers, and that these sentiments were sometimes modified, sometimes passed from before the close of the discussions. The Assembly distinctly disclaimed responsibility for aught in the scribes' books besides its own resolutions and orders as these were *ultimately* adjusted and put on record. 'All our discourses,' Mr. Marshall said on one occasion, 'are recorded by the scribes so far as their pens can reach them, but not to be taken as the judgment of the Assembly.' Nay, silence was not to be construed into assent to things uttered in debate but not 'ordered.'

it had proved a great means 'to make and increase an idle and unedifying ministry, which contented itself with set forms made to their hands by others [and the same might be said of unvarying forms though made by themselves] without putting forth themselves to exercise the gift of prayer with which our Lord Jesus Christ pleaseth to furnish all His servants whom He calls to that office.' The framers themselves distinctly state that in providing certain materials of prayer and exhortation their meaning was only 'that there might be a consent of all the churches in those things which contain the substance of the service and worship of God, and that the ministers, *if need be*, might have some help and furniture, and yet so as they become not hereby slothful and negligent in stirring up the gifts of Christ in them, but that each one by taking heed to himself and the flock of God committed to him, and by wise observing the ways of divine providence, may be careful to furnish his heart and tongue with further and other materials of prayer and exhortation as shall be *needful* on all occasions.' Unquestionably they meant that the individuality of the minister —his growing spiritual experience, his maturity of thought, his gifts of expression and utterance— should come out in leading the devotions of the people and acting as their messenger to God, as well as in setting forth the truth as it is in Jesus,

and acting as God's messenger to them, and also that the one exercise should be to him matter of thought, meditation, preparation and prayer, as well as the other, in order that he might make full proof of his ministry and commend himself to every man's conscience in the sight of God. No party in the Assembly, it seems to me, went more cordially or persistently in this direction than the Scottish Commissioners. It was but the carrying out of principles they had been led on to assert in 1637[1] and which their Smectymnuan friends[2] had asserted in England in 1641. The excitement which Laud's foolish action had roused in Scotland still glowed in their bosoms. They heard unmoved the importunate pleading and entreaties of their best friends in the Assembly—Burgess, Calamy, Seaman, Reynolds and Palmer, that if not from regard to their persons, yet from regard to the credit of their ministry and the whole ministry of England, they would consent to leave out from the proposed preface some of the harsher expressions against the old liturgy, and allow it to be laid aside with honour. But they thought the honour of their own country required it should be more strongly condemned than their friends were willing to allow, and Gillespie was so cruel as to tell them that Scotland would not be satisfied

[1] Row's *History*, pp. 398-406.

[2] *Answer to Humble Remonstrance*, pp. 12-14.

with less, and that its ceremonies were not, like those of the law, to be buried with honour, 'but with the burial of the uncircumcised.' Henderson, who had more to do than any other in moulding the sentences[1] I have quoted from the preface into the form they ultimately assumed, seems to have felt that, in the temper in which his countrymen then were, less would not be accepted by them. Gillespie said expressly that 'that man who stirs up his own gifts doth better than he that useth set forms,' and that it was 'good to hold out what is best.' That in this they expressed only the general sentiment of the Church they represented is evident from the Directions for Family Worship issued a few years later by the Scottish General Assembly. 'So many as can conceive prayer ought to make

[1] Neal has it (vol. iii. p. 143) that several Independents were on the committee which drew up the preface, but an addition had to be made to this Committee. The MS. minutes as well as Lightfoot's Journal, represent the several reports about the preface as given in by Marshall, the Convener of the original committee, or by Henderson who was a member of it, and took the most prominent part in getting the preface into the shape it ultimately assumed. One party, Baillie tells us, purposed 'by the preface to turn the Directory into a straight liturgy; the other to make it so loose and free that it should serve for little use; but God,' he says, 'helped us to get both these rocks eschewed.' They had to concede something, however, to both these parties—to the first, the omission of a direct prohibition to turn the Directory into one ordinary form of prayer; to the second, the change of the words 'concern the service and worship of God' into 'contain the *substance* of the service and worship of God,' so as to make it clear that the uniformity desired related not to matters of detail but only to those of substantial importance.

use of that gift of God; albeit those who are rude and weaker may begin at a set form of prayer, but so as they be not sluggish in stirring up in themselves (according to their daily necessities) the spirit of prayer which is given to all the children of God in some measure: to which effect they ought to be more fervent and frequent in secret prayer to God, for enabling their heart to conceive and their tongues to express convenient desires to God for their family.' These directions are markedly similar in thought and expression to those I quoted from the Westminster Directory, and show unmistakeably how the Church of Scotland must have understood these and meant her ministers to carry them out. Yet nothing was further from their intentions than to encourage unpremeditated or purely extemporary effusions, or to represent any fluency in these as the stirring up of that gift which is given to all the children of God in some measure. As I have already said, they intended the exercise of prayer to be matter of thought, meditation, preparation and prayer, equally with the preaching of the word; and though no doubt they deemed the arrangement of the thoughts, and the bringing of the spirit into a proper frame, to be the most essential parts of the preparation in both cases, they did not mean to prohibit the careful writing of prayers any more than of sermons. Even the Independents, to

whom some are too ready to attribute both the excesses and defects of the Assembly, had said in their Apologetical Narration,[1] 'Whereas there is this great controversy about the lawfulness of set forms prescribed, we practised (*without condemning others*) what all sides do allow. . . that the public prayers in our Assemblies should be framed by the meditations and study of our own ministers out of their own gifts . . . as well as their sermons use to be.' Nay, their Coryphæus, Mr. Nye, in the most important speech he made in the Assembly when this preface was under discussion, admitted there was a middle way betwixt set forms and extemporary prayers, and said, 'I plead for neither, but for *studied* prayers.'[2] And as he did not himself object to write his sermons, and occasionally in the delivery of them to refer to what he had written,[3] we can hardly suppose that he would have objected to write his prayers as well as to study them. This was the practice of some of the most godly ministers the Church of Scotland has ever had, who, though gifted with readiness of utterance and felicity of devotional expression, and satisfied if in their more private ministrations they could arrange their thoughts and prepare their hearts, yet in the stated services of the sanctuary made conscience of

[1] P. 12.
[2] MS. Minutes of Assembly, vol. ii. f. 287.
[3] Preaching in Edinburgh, 'he read much out of his paper book.'

writing down beforehand the substance of their prayers as well as of their sermons, though they were no more in the habit of reading the latter than the former. I have by me one of the common-place books of John Willison of Dundee which shows that this was his usual practice even when far advanced in life. And Dr. M'Crie, the most intelligent and uncompromising defender of non-liturgical worship in later times, has not hesitated to say in explanation of this preface, 'It does not follow from our not praying by a set form that we must pray extempore. Presbyterians *at least* require premeditation and study in prayer as well as in preaching, and disapprove of mere extemporary effusions in the former as well as in the latter.' It is only by attention to this, and to the earnest counsels of the preface to our Directory, that they should be careful thus to furnish *both heart and tongue* for the services of devotion; that men of average ability and spirituality can hope to do justice to the system of free prayer therein encouraged, and to enable their people to reap from it the full spiritual benefits it was meant to confer. And were they only more careful and conscientious in doing this we should hear less about the necessity of changing our form of service, and have it more frequently acknowledged, as it has been by our beloved Sovereign in the Journal of her Highland life, that the simple fervent prayer of a Scottish

minister may touch a chord in the heart which the grandest liturgy had left unmoved.[1]

I know of no formulary of the same sort which is so free from minute and harassing regulations as to postures, gestures, dresses, church pomp, ceremonies, symbolism, and other 'superfluities,' as Hales terms them, which 'under pretext of order and decency' had crept into the church and more and more had restricted the liberty and burdened the consciences of its ministers. I know of none in which, throughout, so clear a distinction is kept up between what Christ and his apostles have instituted, and which may be regarded as imperative in Christian worship, and what has been authorised or recommended or permitted, under the rules of Christian prudence, by later and fallible church authorities, and the observance of which therefore is to be required or recommended or allowed, if at all, with greater reserve as well as with more consideration for the scruples even of weaker brethren. As has been well said, 'The obligation to a practice is not the same when it is described as *necessary*, *requisite*, *expedient*, *convenient*,' *lawful*, or *sufficient*, or when it is *directed*, *advised*, or *recommended*, nor finally when it is provided 'in one place that the minister *is to*, or *shall*, in another

[1] 'The second prayer was very touching; his allusions to us were so simple, saying after his mention of us, "Bless their children." It gave me a lump in my throat, as also when he prayed for the dying, the wounded, the widow and the orphans.'

may,' or in another *let him*, '*do* such and such things.'

The tolerant purpose of those who framed it is fully expressed in their letter to the Scottish General Assembly of 1645, in which they say, 'We have not advised any imposition which might make it unlawful to vary from it in anything; yet we hope all our reverend brethren in this kingdom and in yours also, will so far value and reverence that which upon so long debate and serious deliberation hath been agreed upon in this Assembly . . . that it shall not be the less regarded and observed. And albeit we have not expressed in the Directory every minute particular which is or might be either laid aside or retained among us as comely and useful in practice; yet we trust that none will be so tenacious of old customs not expressly forbidden, or so averse from good examples although new, in matters of lesser consequence, as to insist upon their liberty of retaining the one or refusing the other because not specified in the Directory.' The materials for prayer and exhortation provided in the Directory were not meant by its framers, as they explain in the preface, to do more than supply help and furniture, of which the officiating minister might avail himself. It was said indeed by Mr. Marshall, when he first brought in the part relating to the ordinary services for the Lord's day, that it did 'not only set down the heads of things but so

largely, as that with the altering of here and there a word a man may mould it into a prayer.' But when reminded of this some months afterwards, when he brought in the first draught of the Preface bearing a statement that this was not intended, he said, 'Some such expression did fall from my mouth; I said as one reason why it was so large, here he might have such furniture as that with a little help he may do it. But there is no contradiction to say that we do not intend it. It is not a direct prohibition.' (MS. Minutes, vol. ii. f. 286 b.) In other words, those who conducted the ordinary services were not directly prohibited from turning the materials furnished to them into an unvarying form of prayer, keeping as near to the words of the Directory as they could; but at the same time they were not only not restricted or counselled to do so, but they were counselled and encouraged to do something more, according to their ability and opportunities. The materials provided for the ordinary services of the Lord's day are no doubt much fuller than those provided for special and occasional services, and, being meant for the guidance of young preachers as well as of ordained ministers, they required to be so. But I confess that the more I examine them, the more I am satisfied that even they were meant to be expanded, and required to be so in order to bring out their real value, and their adaptation to the purpose

they were meant to serve. They are so packed with matter, that their full significance cannot otherwise really be brought home to the heart and conscience, nor would they without such expansion have satisfied the eager craving for lengthened services which had then set in. Much more is this the case with the occasional services and especially with those for the administration of Baptism and the Lord's Supper. In this last particularly only the barest outline is given both of the exhortations and of the prayers. The materials of the preliminary exhortation supply the outlines of one of the most complete and impressive addresses to be found in any of the Reformed Agenda; and feelingly expanded, as men like the late Dr. Crawford were wont to expand them, could not fail to be most refreshing to every spiritually-minded communicant. They have been collected from various sources, and, like the materials of the prayers, they show that the draft of the Scotch had passed through English hands, and been greatly improved and enriched by doing so. The verbal coincidences with 'the former liturgy' both in the exhortations and prayers are too many and too marked to be accounted for in any other way, and it is the highest commendation of this part of their work that it has fused into one so much of what was best in the Knoxian and the Anglican Communion Offices. The materials of the Consecration Prayer

are taken mainly from that in Knox's Book of Common Order, which rises so immeasurably above the other prayers in his Book. But the last part of that, as well as the materials of the concluding thanksgiving, shows more affinity with English forms,[1] and tends to make this Directory more complete in all that such a service should embrace than any similar office either in the reformed or the ancient church. The Communion according to the Directory was frequently to be celebrated, but it was left to the minister and elders of each congregation to determine how frequently it should be so—regard being always had to their comfort and edification therein. In England, in those times of revival, it was not uncommon that the Communion should be administered monthly[2] in Presbyterian and

[1] Even with the earlier Edwardian form. The words of the prayer in it 'with thy Holy Spirit and word vouchsafe to bless and sanctify these thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine, that they may be unto us the body and blood of thy most dearly beloved Son Jesus Christ,' along with those in the exhortation preceding, 'for us to feed upon spiritually,' 'we dwell in Christ and Christ in us, we be made one with Christ and Christ with us,' reappear in slightly modified form in the Directory: 'to vouchsafe his gracious presence and the effectual working of His Spirit in us and so to sanctify these elements both of bread and wine and to bless his own ordinance that we may receive by faith the body and blood of Christ crucified for us and so feed upon him that he may be one with us and we with him, that he may live in us and we in him and to him.' Probably we owe these and other approximations to the English Communion Office to Dr. Burgess, to whom the final revision and transcription of most of the Assembly's formularies was intrusted. He had copies of both liturgies of Edward VI.

[2] 'Blessed be God, we have now our Christian new moons and

weekly in Independent congregations. In Scotland all attainable evidence tends to show that it was administered much more rarely, though even then the practice had begun of the more pious of the people resorting to the Communion when celebrated in neighbouring parishes as well as in their own. In some parishes during the painful contentions between engagers and non-engagers, and between resolutioners and protesters, the celebration of the communion was intermitted for two or three years. It is sad to think that men like Blair, Rutherfurd, and Wood should have made their differences in such minor matters a plea for withholding from the congregation of St. Andrews the comfort of this ordinance for more than a year.

Perhaps Scotland was not unprepared for the changes which the substitution of the Directory in place of the Book of Common Order involved. Those changes were not so great as some imagine. Free prayer, which from the first had been permitted and encouraged, and had latterly, if Calderwood is to be trusted, become general, was now made imperative on the minister, but 'help and furniture' in the various exercises were provided; and that

evangelical feast of trumpets. We have not only our monthly sacrament feast to refresh our souls withal in most of our congregations . . . but our monthly fasts in which the word is preached, trading ceaseth, and sacrifices of prayer, praises, and alms are tendered up to God.'—Preface to Calamy's Sermon, 23d February 1641. The disputes as to discipline led to less frequent celebration.

no one should imagine that encouragement was thus meant to be given to ministers to engage in the public services of the sanctuary in the perfunctory manner Dr. Hammond has described, it is directed that each one 'be careful to furnish *his heart and tongue* with further or other materials of prayer and exhortation as shall be needful on all occasions.' But in England the case was far otherwise. Even inside the Puritan circle, there were not a few who would have preferred to amend rather than 'to lay aside the former liturgy,' and many more of the wisest and best, who, though their own leanings may have been in favour of a more thorough reform, knew how hard it would be to persuade a large part of the nation and of the ministry to accept it, and felt how greatly it would add to the difficulty of the task of preserving unbroken the religious unity of the nation, to proscribe that to which so many were attached by most hallowed associations and tender memories. Even the ministers generally were not nearly so well prepared for the change as those in Scotland. Dr. Hammond[1] makes merry over what he supposes was an ingenious device, under pretence of supplying ships which wanted a minister, to help all such idle mariners in the ship of the Church. This was a little treatise issued within two months after the Directory was published, and entitled 'A

[1] *View of the New Directory*, etc., p. 80.

supply of prayer for the ships of this kingdom that want ministers to pray with them, agreeable to the Directory established by Parliament, published by authority; London, John Field, 1645.'—(E. 284, No. 16.) Such a treatise might have been as honestly issued by the Assembly at that time as the volume of 'Prayers for the use of soldiers, sailors, colonists, and sojourners in India and other persons at home and abroad, who are deprived of the ordinary services of a Christian ministry' was by the Church of Scotland in our own day, and with as little intention of encouraging an idle and unedifying ministry. But I rather incline to think the 'device' may have been a device of the enemy to burlesque their work. I cannot find any authority given by Parliament or the Assembly for the publication, and the preface or reason assigned for the work seems to me to be written in a somewhat serio-comic vein. It appeared in May and it was not till August that the Parliament took steps to enforce their ordinance as to the old liturgy.

Probably the most remarkable and not least useful part of this formulary is the section 'Of Preaching the Word.' This was a subject not usually handled in such treatises, but it was one to which Puritanism from the first attached great importance, and to which all who hold the prophetic or evangelistic in opposition to the sacerdotal theory of the Christian ministry attach

great importance still. The Puritans mourned over the paucity of preaching ministers in the Church in the reigns of the Tudors and Stuarts, and pleaded with the authorities in Church and State to take further securities for the efficient performance of their function by every parish minister. They did what they could in an unofficial way, by their prophesyings and conferences, to quicken their brethren to a sense of duty in this matter. To train them for it was one of the first objects to which they directed attention when their day of prosperity came round, and at which they laboured with a perseverance and intensity only to be accounted for by the deepest sense of its importance to the well-being of a reformed church. Not that they overlooked catechising or any means of elementary instruction, as Dr. Hammond would insinuate (for their whole history shows how earnest and successful they were in these), but that they held that even such work could not be efficiently carried on so as to promote the real quickening of the lapsed and uneducated masses by mere mechanical drill in the words of a catechism and without constant recourse to that simple expository teaching, and personal application which Archbishop Laud and his party had discouraged, but which no authority now-a-days would dream of prohibiting. Even in Cartwright's Directory, prepared in the previous century, special attention

had been drawn to the subject of preaching and some wise counsels given respecting it. But in this formulary, drawn up in the heyday of Puritanism, we have from the hand of one of the greatest masters, and revised by the ablest of the school, a summary of their thought and experience on a subject which they had made peculiarly their own, and on which if on any they may claim to give counsel still. Dr. Hammond disparages even this, but Mr. Marsden says of it :[1] 'Every sentence is admirable. So much good sense and deep piety, the results of great and diversified experience, and of a knowledge so profound, have probably never been gathered into so small a space on the subject of ministerial teaching. It is one that has received attention in successive ages from teachers of different schools and of various tastes and habitudes of mind. . . . But a brief chapter of four pages here comprises an amount of wise instruction which will not readily be found elsewhere. The Divines of Westminster were among the masters of this sacred art; whether we estimate their power by the enthusiasm of their crowded congregations, by the better test of their writings and printed sermons, or by the still higher touchstone of permanent success, . . . in turning sinners from the error of their ways, in edifying the church and fitting men for God. After a variety of lessons

[1] *Later Puritans*, pp. 88, 89.

marked by great judgment and good sense . . . they conclude with a series of admonitions to the preacher to look to the condition of his own heart, and to keep alive the flame of love and holiness within.' In the copy of the Directory which belonged to Immanuel Bourne the first part of this section is carefully and minutely subdivided and annotated, and special attention is directed to the sentence which counsels the preacher still to seek for further illumination of God's Spirit by prayer and a humble heart, 'resolving to admit and receive any truth not yet attained whenever God shall make it known to him.'

During the summer and autumn of 1644, while the Assembly and the House of Commons were so busily engaged in adjusting the Directories for Ordination and for Public Worship, the House of Lords had been occupied with the trial of the Archbishop of Canterbury. For more than three years he had been kept as a close prisoner in the Tower. Friends had urged him to escape while he was so long neglected, and had offered to aid him in doing so. But he had resolved calmly to abide the issue. From week to week during the greater part of this anxious year the old man came before the peers leaning on his staff, and it is said attired in black gown and cap, and yet even so not always respectfully treated by the populace. Ably and resolutely did he defend himself from the various

charges brought against him, and the peers hesitated to adjudge his offences treason. But as in the case of Strafford a bill of attainder was at length brought in and finally passed on 4th January 1644-5. Even his opponents must confess that 'nothing in life became him like the leaving it.' A pardon from the king in his favour was produced to the Houses, but it was disregarded by them. His petition, touching yet dignified, that in consideration of his age and calling, his sentence might at least be commuted, was also disregarded, and it was only after a second application that the House of Commons acceded even to his modified request that the manner of his death should be changed, and he should not be hanged but beheaded. So on Friday 10th January the aged primate was brought forth for execution on Towerhill in the presence of an immense crowd of spectators estimated in one of the newspapers of the time at more than 100,000. His last address was a sort of discourse founded on Hebrews xii. 1, etc., which was very variously reported in the royalist and parliamentary newspapers, and surely it was small wonder if, as the old man gazed on that sea of upturned hostile faces, his memory misgave him, or that even with the aid of notes he gave but imperfect utterance to his thoughts. Then came a brief but affecting prayer as to which there is no

material variation,[1] and with a single blow of the executioner's axe his grey head was severed from his body, and his spirit passed to its rest. The House of Lords had been far from keen in the prosecution of this last of statesmen-prelates, feeling that however grievous his errors had been, there was now but little risk of his doing further harm to the State. Several even of the Commons are said to have shown a disposition to relent. But the majority, Presbyterians as well as Independents, could not be persuaded to let the prosecution drop. The feeling of the London populace and of the more fanatical sectaries against him was very strong, and had been intensified by the many satirical pamphlets which had been put in circulation since his fall. The Assembly has been blamed for doing nothing to allay the excitement and prevent the scandal of the chief minister of the Church being doomed to such a fate. Yet neither their own minutes nor the Journals of the Houses furnish the least evidence that as a body they did

[1] 'Lord, I am coming as fast as I can. I know I must pass through the shadow of death, before I can come to see thee, but it is but *umbra mortis*, a mere shadow of death, a little darkness upon nature; but thou by thy merits and passion hast broke through the jaws of death; so Lord receive my soul and have mercy upon me, and bless this kingdom with peace and plenty, and with brotherly love and charity, that there may not be this effusion of Christian blood amongst them, for Jesus Christ's sake, if it be thy will.'

aught to help it on. Even as to individual members I doubt if the expressions Professor Masson has quoted from the sermons of two or three of them were meant specially to refer to him, and not rather to those who were directly responsible for the war, and had actually shed blood in it or in the Irish massacres. The most melancholy utterances in the sermons of Woodcock and Stanton reappear in several of those preached in the following year, when no such reference can be imagined, and are but the emphatic expression of the opinion then all but universally held and acted on that they who shed innocent blood could only atone for it by their own.[1] The Scots also have been severely blamed, but with still less occasion. They no doubt felt keenly at first and resented bitterly the sufferings his policy had entailed on them. But Baillie, who knew and did not hesitate to speak their mind, shows no such resentment. He says expressly, when intimating to his correspondent in Holland that the trial had begun, 'He is a

[1] The only discourse I have met with which openly vindicates the deed, and glories in it, was not preached before the Houses of Parliament nor by a member of the Assembly of Divines. Its title is 'Jehoiada's justice against Mattan, Baal's high priest,' and its spirit is as atrocious as its title. The author does not give his name, but only his initials, J. H. Even if he was the Julius Herring, still more if he was only a relative of the Julius Herring who was the subject of Laud's coarse and unfeeling joke, 'I will soon pickle that herring,' one cannot speak of his act but in terms of the strongest reprobation.

person now so contemptible that we take no notice of his process.' And at a later stage, when speaking intemperately of the 'malicious invectives' of one of the prelates of his own country, he adds, 'I could hardly consent to the hanging of Canterbury himself, or of any Jesuit, yet I could give my sentence freely against that liar's life.' The insinuation against Henderson in the Oxford royalist paper of the day, is but one of its many slanders against the man who was its ecclesiastical *bête noire* as unmistakeably, as Lord Say and Seale was its secular one. But by whomsoever the deed may have been prompted, and however it may have been excused at the time when the memory of his rigour and cruelty was fresh, it will now be all but universally admitted to have been a blunder as well as a crime. It brought deserved discredit on the Parliament, revolted not a few of its friends, exasperated a number of the best of its opponents, embittered greatly the relations between the leading clergymen on both sides, and more than almost any other single occurrence destroyed for a generation all hope of honourable compromise and cordial co-operation between them in the cause of religion, and the interests of highest concern to their common country.

LECTURE VIII.

TREATISES ON CHURCH-GOVERNMENT, CHURCH CENSURES, AND ORDINATION OF MINISTERS.

IN my last Lecture I gave you a succinct account of the Directory for the Public Worship of God prepared by a special committee, and after careful revision adopted by the Assembly in 1644. I am to-day to speak of the treatises on church-government, church censures, and ordination of ministers, which were prepared almost simultaneously with that Directory. Two or perhaps, more strictly speaking, three treatises on these subjects were drawn up by the Westminster Assembly in the course of the first two years of its sessions. The one to which it first addressed itself was that for which it began to make preparations immediately after receiving from the two Houses the order for its members to 'confer and treat among themselves of such a discipline and government as may be most agreeable to God's holy word and most apt to procure the peace of the Church and nearer agreement with other reformed Churches. It may be said to have formed the chief occu-

pation of the Assembly during the remainder of the year 1643 and during the greater part of 1644. It proved a work of great labour and difficulty, and it was in connection with it that those keen and almost interminable debates between the Presbyterians and Independents took place, which broke the harmony of the Assembly and retarded its more important work. This treatise was entitled by its framers, *Propositions concerning Church-Government and Ordination of Ministers*, but it is now generally known and referred to as the *Form of Church-Government*, probably because that was the title arranged for the treatise on church-government in the Solemn League and Covenant. Under this title it still holds its place in Scottish editions of the Westminster standards. It embodies in the form of distinct propositions, arranged in logical connection, and accompanied with the Scripture proofs which were held to warrant them, the conclusions in which the Assembly saw fit from time to time to sum up the results of its lengthened and exhaustive discussions. It treats in succession of the Head of the Church, of the Church itself, and the officers whom Christ its Head has given it, viz., pastors, teachers, other church governors (whom reformed churches commonly call elders), and deacons, then of particular congregations, and the officers and ordinances appropriate to them, of church-government, the several sorts

of assemblies for exercising it, and the common and distinctive powers of these several assemblies, and finally of the doctrine and power of ordination accompanied by a practical directory for the ordination of ministers. Prefixed to Gillespie's *Notes of the Debates and Proceedings of the Assembly*, as I stated in a former lecture, we have in tabulated form the votes or separate resolutions of the Assembly out of which the Propositions were gradually framed, accompanied in the margin by a notification of the date or at least of the session when each separate vote was passed, and of the fact whether it was *ordered*, that is, accepted without discussion, or *resolved* on after debate and perhaps a formal vote. The latest entry, however, in this tabulated form was made in the 186th session, or on 25th March 1644, and thus unfortunately it does not include the votes regarding the gradation of church courts and their respective powers, nor even the greater part of those relating to the ordination of ministers. It is authenticated by the subscriptions both of the assessors, and of the scribes of the Assembly, and it was probably got by Gillespie and his colleagues that it might be forwarded to the commissioners of the General Assembly in their own country, to whom they were required from time to time to give account of their proceedings. But if so, it was not formally communicated to the

General Assembly of that year, nor indeed in accordance with the provisions of the ordinance calling the Westminster Assembly could any public use be made of it at that date. It is only one of several indications we have that they occasionally sent documents as well as notes of their speeches to these commissioners, as it is also one of several indications that besides the books in which Byfield inserted notes of the speeches of the members and formal minutes of their meetings there was another (probably under the charge of his colleague Roborough) in which their votes alone, and so the separate propositions contained in their formularies of church order, worship, and doctrine, were recorded as they were voted, which book is now hopelessly lost.[1]

It was not till the 8th November 1644 that the Propositions, or at any rate the main part of them (I suppose so far as they are printed on the first sixteen pages of the Scotch edition of 1647), were presented by Dr. Burgess and some others of the Divines to the House of Commons as 'the humble advice of the Assembly of Divines now by authority of Parliament sitting at Westminster concerning *some part* of church-government.' And on p. 16 of the edition of the Propositions above men-

[1] Vol. i. of the MS. Minutes under session 186 or 25th March 1644 records the appointment of the prolocutor, assessors, and scribes as a committee, but does not indicate the object for which they were appointed. Possibly it was to prepare this *vidimus* of votes.

tioned, the statement (no doubt given in on this occasion) has been allowed to stand as it originally did: 'Some other particulars concerning church-government do yet remain unfinished, which shall be with all convenient speed prepared and presented to this honourable House.' But when by a subsequent message from the House they were requested to send in with all convenient speed all the parts of church-government that are yet behind,' they replied by Mr. Marshall 'that all the material parts of church-government are already brought up' with the exception of that relating to church-censures, the *ubi* of which was a subject of theological dispute about which they had not yet agreed. The conclusions to which they ultimately came respecting it were incorporated not with the *Propositions*, but with the *Directory* for church-government, etc. When and how the Propositions contained on pp. 17 to 26 of the Scotch edition of 1647 were moulded into the precise shape in which we there find them, it is not so easy exactly to determine. In all likelihood this was the part of the Directory which was first completed and presented to the Houses, to enable them to make temporary arrangements for the ordination of ministers. From the full notes of the debates given in Lightfoot's *Journal* it is evident that the twelve propositions relating to the doctrinal part of ordination had by April 3d, 1644,

been put into the exact form in which we there have them, and if by April 19th the directory for ordination was not yet *verbatim et literatim* as we now have it, any alterations made on it subsequently must have been of the most trifling kind. The Committee which drew up the first draft of this Directory were Messrs. Palmer, Herle, Marshall, Tuckney, Seaman, Vines, Goodwin, and Gataker, with the Scottish commissioners, and their draft was completed[1] between the 3d and the 19th of April, on which day it was discussed, and with modifications adopted by the Assembly. Next morning it was presented to the Houses, Dr. Burgess, in offering it to the House of Lords, saying, 'That these were the first-fruits of the Assembly, and if they shall receive sanction and confirmation from their Lordships it will abundantly recompense for the long time they were in debate, and the Assembly recommends them to the blessing of God for a good success upon them.' At first the action of the Houses, on what had been presented to them, was far from satisfactory to the Assembly.[2] They struck out, from the ordinance they proposed to pass respecting ordination of ministers, all reference to the doctrinal part of ordination, and from the practical

[1] Lightfoot's *Journal*, pp. 237-253.

[2] It is recorded in *Journals of the House of Commons*, vol. iii. pp. 590, 591. For alterations made see pp. 610, 622, 625.

Directory, all reference to a presbytery as the ordinary ministers of ordination. They made provision for the special emergency that had occurred, only by a temporary and extraordinary association of presbyters, and deferred determining the method to be ordinarily and permanently followed until the whole question of church-government was ripe for settlement. They also proposed various alterations in particular regulations recommended by the Assembly. This fortunately came to the knowledge of the divines before the ordinance had actually passed, and they asked and got permission to make further suggestions respecting it. The adjustment of these suggestions gave occasion to considerable debate in the Assembly, and to expressions of disappointment on the part of several divines (notably of Henderson), that the House of Commons should have taken such liberties with a document they had so carefully drawn up; and after paring away so much that was deemed important by its framers —especially as to the doctrinal part—should have ventured to prefix to the 'directory part' a preface of their own. The preface as ultimately passed seems harmless enough, but though negatively allowed by the divines, it was as rigidly excluded from a place among their Propositions and in their Directory as it was persistently maintained in the English Ordinance, as printed in 1644,

modified and reprinted in 1646, and merged in the larger and more general Ordinance on church-government in 1648.[1] At first the divines seemed disposed to content themselves with urging two amendments to the ordinance drafted by the Commons, the one embodying a more satisfactory definition of ordination than the preamble contained, and the other restoring the clause requiring an express promise of *submission* on the part of the people to their pastor. Ultimately, however, thirteen suggestions were sent up, of which eleven were accepted by the House of Commons without difficulty. The other two—being those just referred to, and numbered respectively 8 and 9—were after further consideration accepted; the first partially, the second entirely; but on the dissent of the House of Lords from the latter it

[1] 'Whereas the word *presbyter*, that is to say elder, and the word bishop do in the Scriptures intend and signify one and the same function, although the title of bishop hath been by corrupt custom appropriated to one, and that unto him ascribed, and by him assumed, as in other things so in the matter of ordination that was not meet. Which ordination notwithstanding being performed by him, a *presbyter*, joined with other *presbyters*, we hold for substance to be valid, and not to be disclaimed by any that have received it. And that *presbyters* so ordained being lawfully thereunto appointed may ordain other *presbyters*. And whereas it is also manifest by the word of God that no man ought to take upon him the office of a minister until he be lawfully called and ordained thereunto; and that the work of ordination, that is to say, an outward solemn setting apart of persons for the office of the ministry in the Church by *preaching presbyters*, is an ordinance of Christ, and is to be performed with all due care, wisdom, gravity, and solemnity: It is ordained,' etc.

was in the end rejected. Instead of the presiding minister being directed immediately *before the ordination* to 'demand of the people concerning their willingness to receive and acknowledge the person about to be ordained as the minister of Christ, and *to obey and submit unto him as having rule over them in the Lord*,' etc., he was simply authorised *after the ordination* 'to exhort and charge the people in the name of God, willingly to receive and acknowledge him as the minister of Christ, and to maintain, encourage, and assist him in all the parts of his office.' As the objection to their suggestion appears to have proceeded mainly from the House of Lords, it is likely that it arose quite as much from dislike of the position it conceded to the people, as of the position of rule it claimed for the minister once accepted by them. And, strange as it may seem, though the clause requiring the people to declare their acceptance of the minister, and promise submission to him, was retained in the Propositions and Directory as published in 1647, and was countenanced by the Knoxian Form of Admission of Ministers, the practice which has generally prevailed in the Church of Scotland ever since the Revolution comes nearer to that authorised by the Ordinance of the English Parliament. The people's acceptance and promises are held to have been evinced by the signature of the call or acquiescence in it,

and at the time of ordination are tacitly assumed, and after the minister-elect has been ordained, and counselled as to his duty, they are exhorted and charged as to theirs.

But the main subject of difference between the Assembly and the Houses related to the insertion of a satisfactory definition of ordination in the preamble of the ordinance. The original draft had borne merely that ordination, that is, an outward solemn setting apart of persons for the office of the ministry, is an ordinance of Christ, and left out the explanation contained in the fourth doctrinal proposition of the Assembly. They suggested that the ordinance should run 'that ordination by preaching presbyters with prayer and imposition of hands is an ordinance of Christ,' but they ultimately agreed not to press for the insertion of the words 'with prayer and imposition of hands,' so that the clause might stand, 'that ordination by preaching presbyters is an ordinance of Christ.'[1] This modified request was substantially granted by the Houses, but it was determined by them that the words 'by preaching presbyters' should come in not in the first part of the definition, but at its close, to complete the explanation: 'that is, an outward solemn setting apart of persons for the office of the ministry in the Church.'[2] Some further additions were afterwards made to the ordinance on

[1] Gillespie's *Notes*, p. 71. [2] As in note on p. 253.

the suggestion of the Assembly which may possibly not have been in their Directory as originally transmitted. The ordinance retained one variation from the draft of the Assembly which is deserving of notice. It had been determined there by a majority that the phrase '*with* imposition of hands and prayer' should be changed into '*by* imposition of hands,' etc. Selden, Gataker, and Seaman all pressed this; but Gillespie contended that 'it neither agreed with the apostle's phrase nor with the opinion of our divines.'[1] Yet in the House of Commons, where Selden's influence was generally greater than in the Assembly, the word *by* was left out, though *with* was not inserted, but the sentence simply ran, 'shall solemnly set him apart to the office and work of the ministry, *laying* their hands on him.'

The first and larger part of the propositions, as already stated, was only presented to the Houses on 8th November 1644, or more than six months after the part which now stands last had been sent up.

The propositions concerning church-government and ordination, as put into shape by the divines and presented to the English Parliament, were taken down to Scotland by Gillespie and Baillie, and along with the Directory for Public Worship, they were presented apparently in manu-

[1] Gillespie's Notes of Debates, p. 45.

script to the General Assembly which met in Edinburgh in February 1645. Baillie says they were to have the Assembly's opinion upon them, 'but no Act till they had passed the Houses of the English Parliament.'[1] Of course he means they were to have no Executive Act such as they had asked and got for the Directory for Public Worship. The Assembly passed, and the Parliament ratified, an Act approving of the Propositions so far as submitted to them, but instead of decerning and ordaining, as in the other case, that they should be observed and practised, it simply authorised their Commission to conclude a uniformity on the basis of them as soon as they should be ratified without *substantial* alteration by the Parliament of England. They never were so ratified in the South, and the Act of the Scottish General Assembly in 1647, approving and establishing the Confession of Faith, speaks of the truth of Christ as to the several sorts of ecclesiastical officers and assemblies not as having been embodied in the Propositions approved in 1645, but '*to be expressed* in the Directory of Government.'[2]

The circumstances which led to the preparation of this latter treatise were the following:—The majority of the English Parliament, while willing to substitute a Presbyterian for an Episcopal form

[1] *Letters and Journals*, vol. ii. p. 260. For the Act see Note K.

[2] Peterkin's *Records of the Kirk*, p. 475.

of government in the National Church, were not disposed to concede the apparent *jure divino* claim made for it in the Propositions. Even many of the warm friends of Presbytery in the south became satisfied that if they were to retain the bulk of the nation in the reconstituted Church they must be content to get their assent to their favourite system of church-government as one that in its main principles was lawful and agreeable to the Word of God rather than expressly enjoined in it, and that could be justified by considerations of reason or expediency in many of its details for which the texts appended by the Assembly to the 'Propositions' did not seem to furnish a clear divine warrant, still less a positive and permanent institution. At the desire of these friends of comprehension and their friends in Parliament generally, who, to use Coleman's words, preferred 'may be to must be,' the Assembly set itself to prepare its practical Directory for church-government and discipline, and for ordination of ministers during the latter part of 1644 and the earlier part of 1645. Henderson took a special interest in the preparation of this Formulary, and culled its materials, in part at least, from his treatise on the Order and Government of the Church of Scotland, in part from the discipline of the French and Dutch Protestant Churches, modifying and toning down the whole, and doing his very utmost to put it into a shape that might

be acquiesced in, or borne with, by those whose personal leanings were towards other polities. Yet with every disposition to respect, as far as a loyal Presbyterian could, the scruples of the dissenting brethren, and inclination to yield to them in minor matters, he and his colleagues found it impossible to come to an agreement with them on the basis of the practical Directory any more than on that of the theoretical 'Propositions.' But though it entirely failed to ward off the threatened schism, the Directory did not fail to secure the favour of the majority of the Parliament, and with two or three notable exceptions, to which I shall advert in my next Lecture, it was substantially embodied in the ordinance passed by the Houses on 29th August 1648, and published under the title, *The Form of Church-Government to be used in the Church of England and Ireland.* This Form contains minute directions for the choice of elders, the erection of twelve Presbyteries and a Synod, in London, and more general directions for the choice of elders and the erection of Presbyteries and Synods in other parts of the kingdom. It also made provision for the meeting

[1] Even the ministers and elders met in their provincial assembly at London, in November 1648, venture to say: 'The external government and discipline of Christ, though it be not necessary to the being, yet it is absolutely necessary to the wellbeing of a church. . . . Not that we think that every circumstance in church-government is set down precisely in the word, or is of divine right in a strict sense.'—*Vindication of the Presbyterial Government and Ministry*, pp. 1-3.

of a National Assembly when summoned by Parliament, but in point of fact it never was summoned to meet. The classical Presbyteries were to consist of one minister and at least two elders from every parish within the bounds, the provincial synods of at least two ministers and four elders from every classis within the province, and the National Assembly of two ministers and four elders from each provincial synod, and of five learned and godly persons from each university in the kingdom. These various courts were subordinated to each other after the Presbyterian fashion, that so appeals might be made from the inferior to the superior, and any person who deemed himself aggrieved by the proceedings of a congregational eldership might appeal to the classis, from that to the provincial synod, and from that to the National Assembly, and from it to the Parliament. This last provision no pleading nor protestation on the part of the divines could prevail with the Houses to alter, and perhaps that may have been one reason why they did not urge on at once the complete organisation of the Church, though of course the main reason was furnished by the political changes that so soon took place. Presbyteries and a synod were erected in Lancashire[1] by separate ordinances, and presbyteries[2] in

[1] *Journals of House of Commons*, vol. iv. p. 668; vol. v. pp. 7, 23.
[2] E. 430, No. 16; E. 431, No. 4.

Somersetshire and Surrey by other ordinances. Any organisation attempted in other counties was rather on the lines suggested by Baxter for the county of Worcester than on the lines of the ordinances of Parliament.[1] Any associations in them were probably composed of ministers only, and of ministers of different judgments on the question of church-government. It was on the 7th July 1645 that the Assembly's Directory was formally delivered to the Houses by Mr. Marshall and certain other members. The following is the entry in the Journals of the House of Commons (vol. iv. p. 199), regarding it:—

'The House being informed that some of the Assembly of Divines were at the door, they were called in, and Mr. Marshall acquainted the House, That whereas the House had been pleased, at several times, to order the Assembly of Divines to send to them such propositions as they had finished; which they had done; that there are some more which needed some proofs out of Scripture, and had been under debate with them and were now finished: They had cast their votes into a model and method; and now the House may see all before them. They have left out the proofs, both of Scripture and reason, having sent them in with their former votes; but if the House please to command the Assembly to give in the proofs, they are ready to do it. Some of these votes are plainly held out by Scripture; others have reasons agreeable to Scripture, and have been alleged: And such as have the light of nature are received and practised in all Reformed Churches. This work, though it appeared short, yet had spent much time, by reason of dissenting judgments; that, if possible, they

[1] There were isolated *classes*; see *Minutes*, p. 536, for Kent.

might be satisfied. To this short paper of additional votes they have given in the proofs out of Scripture; and if those proofs, at the first reading, be not convictive, in regard that God hath not laid down the points of church discipline in such clear texts, they desire they may not be laid aside, but that the House will command them to give in the proofs at large.'

The Directory for Church-Government was brought down by the Scotch Commissioners Gillespie or Baillie, and laid before the Scottish Assembly in 1647, and by their orders it was printed (with the propositions prefixed, and in the exact shape in which it had passed the Westminster Assembly) before the close of the year, that it might be examined and reported on by presbyteries. Next year the consideration of the reports was again deferred, and in the confusions that followed no action may have been taken respecting it. Baillie says that with four or five reservations it would have been approved of by the Assembly but for the persistent opposition of Calderwood, who objected even to the propositions of which the Assembly had approved in 1645. Both sanctioned congregational elderships as distinct courts, whereas he maintained they were nothing more than committees of Presbytery. The latter provided that the provincial synods should consist not of all the ministers of the bounds, but of a certain number of ministers and elders chosen out of each presbytery, and that the National Assembly

should consist not of delegates from the presbyteries, but of three ministers and three elders from each provincial synod, and five learned and godly persons from each university. To all these provisions we cannot doubt this uncompromising defender of old Scottish arrangements would resolutely object, particularly to the last,[1] which had been opposed, but unsuccessfully, by the Scottish Commissioners at Westminster. But some of these provisions are not unworthy still of the consideration of the larger Presbyterian Churches, which feel that their supreme courts, as at present constituted, are somewhat unwieldy, and hardly so well adapted as they might be for the transaction of judicial business. And if ever the time should come when they should feel that the laity ought to be more directly represented than they yet are by idoneous persons as well as elders, it may cheer them to remember that the Westminster Assembly, notwithstanding the objections of our countrymen, did not hesitate to put on record their decision that 'synodical assemblies do consist of pastors, teachers, church governors, and *other fit persons* (when it shall be deemed expedient) where they have a lawful calling thereunto.'

[1] *Letters and Journals*, vol. iii. pp. 11, 20, 21, 59. 'A full and perfect model of discipline,' 'a very excellent and profitable piece, the fourth part of our uniformitie was shuffled by through the pertinacious opposition of Mr. David Calderwood and two or three with him.'

The Directory was reprinted in 1690 in a neat little volume containing also Henderson's treatise on the Government and Order of the Church of Scotland, on which it was based. Once and again the treatise was reprinted in the earlier half of the succeeding century. It holds its place even in a collection of Confessions, etc., published in 1776. Use was unquestionably made of it in drawing up what are termed the Larger Overtures on Discipline, etc., printed among the proceedings of Assembly 1705, and the Form of Process approved by Assembly 1707. But as a whole it, as well as the propositions, was left unsanctioned at the Revolution, and it is not now nearly so well known as it ought to be. It is practical and comprehensive, a storehouse of valuable counsels as to many things in government, and still more in discipline, not touched on in the propositions, and is well worthy of being studied by Presbyterian ministers still, who wish to do full justice to the system of government the Westminster Assembly sanctioned. What wiser statement of church principles could be desired than the following: Where the number of the people is so great 'that they cannot conveniently meet in one place, it is expedient that they be divided, according to the respective bounds of their dwellings, into distinct and fixed congregations, for the better administration of such ordinances as belong unto them, and the discharge of the mutual

duties, wherein all, according to their several places and callings, are to labour to promote whatever appertains to the power of godliness and credit of religion, that the whole land in the full extent of it may become the kingdom of the Lord and of His Christ. Parochial congregations in this kingdom, consisting of ministers and people who profess faith in Christ and obedience unto Christ, according to the rules of faith and life taught by Him and His Apostles, and join together in the public worship of hearing, praying, and administration of the sacraments, are churches truly constituted. . . . Communion and membership in congregations thus constituted . . . is not unlawful. And to refuse or renounce membership and church communion with congregations thus constituted, as unlawful to be joined with, in regard of their constitution, is not warranted by the word of God. . . . Separation from a church thus constituted, where the government is lawful, upon an opinion that it is unlawful, and that therefore all the godly are also bound to separate . . . and to join themselves to another church of another constitution and government, is not warranted by the word of God, but contrary to it. . . . Nor is it lawful for any member of a parochial congregation, if the ordinances be there administered in purity, to go and seek them elsewhere ordinarily.' . . . 'Although the truth of conversion

and regeneration be necessary to every worthy communicant for his own comfort and benefit, yet those only are to be by the eldership excluded or suspended from the Lord's table who are found by them to be ignorant or scandalous.' 'Where there are many ruling officers in a particular congregation let some of them more especially attend the inspection of one part, some of another, as may be most convenient; and let them at fit times visit the several families for their spiritual good.' 'These elders ought to be such as are men of good understanding in matters of religion, sound in the faith, prudent, discreet, grave, and of unblameable conversation.' 'The deacons must be wise, sober, grave, of honest report, not greedy of filthy lucre.' 'It belongeth unto classical presbyteries to consider, to debate, and to resolve according to God's word, such cases of conscience or other difficulties in doctrine as are brought unto them out of their association, according as they shall find needful for the good of the churches: to examine and censure according to the word any erroneous doctrines which have been either publicly or privately vented within their association to the corrupting of the judgments of men, and to endeavour the reducing of recusants or any others in error or schism . . . to dispense censures in cases within their cognisance . . . yet so as that no minister be deposed but by the resolution of a

synod: to examine, ordain, and admit ministers for the congregations respectively therein associated.' 'The provincial and national assemblies are to have the same power in all points of government and censures brought before them within their several bounds respectively as is before expressed to belong to classical presbyteries within their several associations.'

The sum of all may be given in the words of Henderson in that treatise on 'The Government and Order of the Church of Scotland,' from which this Directory to so large an extent is taken: 'In the authority of these assemblies, parochial, presbyterial, provincial, and national, and in the subordination of the lesser unto the greater, or of the more particular elderships to the larger and general eldership, doth consist the order, strength, and steadfastness of the Church of Scotland. . . . Here is a superiority without tyranny, for no minister hath a papal or monarchical jurisdiction over his own flock, far less over other pastors and over the congregations of a large diocese. Here there is parity without confusion and disorder, for the pastors are in order before the elders, and the elders before the deacons. Every particular church is subordinate to the presbytery, the presbytery to the synod, and the synod to the national assembly. One pastor also hath priority of esteem before another for age, for zeal, for gifts, for his good

deservings of the Church, each one honouring him whom God hath honoured, and as he beareth the image of God, which was to be seen among the Apostles themselves. But none hath pre-eminence of title or power or jurisdiction above others; even as in nature one eye hath not power over another, only the head hath power over all, even as Christ over His church. . . . And lastly, here there is a subjection without slavery, for the people are subject to the pastors and assemblies, yet there is no assembly wherein every particular church hath not interest and power; nor is there anything done but they are, if not actually yet virtually, called to consent unto it.' Such is presbytery in theory, and there is no reason why in practice it should not approximate to the ideal more nearly than some recent caricaturists represent it to have done, save that we who are intrusted with its administration, not excluding these caricaturists themselves, still come far short of what we ought to be as men, as Christians, and as the descendants of such noble-hearted Christians; and that is a shortcoming that would mar any form of government which God has instituted, or human wisdom has devised.

LECTURE IX.

DEBATES ON THE AUTONOMY OF THE CHURCH, THE SOLE SUPREMACY OF ITS DIVINE HEAD, AND THE RIGHT OF ITS OFFICE-BEARERS UNDER HIM TO GUARD ITS PURITY AND ADMINISTER ITS DISCIPLINE; QUERIES ON *jus divinum* OF CHURCH-GOVERNMENT.

IN my last Lecture I gave you an account of the Propositions concerning church-government and ordination of ministers, and the practical Directory for church-government, church censures, and ordination of ministers, in which the Assembly embodied the results of those sharp and tough debates which dragged their slow length along for wellnigh eighteen months. In the present lecture I propose to advert to controversies which emerged in the course of these debates, but which were afterwards brought up again and discussed more exhaustively. These were the 'scabrous questions' (as others than the Westminster Assembly have found) of the autonomy of the Church, the supremacy of its Divine Head, and independence of its officers in the administration of the

discipline of His house,—questions which divided the friends of Reformation in the Assembly and in the Parliament far more seriously than any of those previously discussed, and the differences on which I believe were one main cause why Presbyterianism was never fully set up in England.

In that country, perhaps more markedly than in any other, the way for the Reformation of the sixteenth century may be said to have been prepared by the civil power and the laity—by the sovereign and his great council or parliament restraining or opposing the abuses of the ecclesiastical and the papal powers. Even under the Norman and Plantagenet kings the contest began to be waged, though at times with very indifferent success. It was revived under Edward I., and still more resolutely under his grandson Edward III. As the Popes were then residing at Avignon, and generally creatures of the kings of France, with whom Edward was at war, the nation entered into the struggle almost as heartily as it had done into that for the defence of its *Magna Charta* when assailed by the Pope. Various statutes for the restraint of abuses, particularly the statutes of Provisors and Præmunire, were enacted and re-enacted in more stringent form. The former, passed in 1351, was meant to restrain the Pope from providing to benefices as they became vacant, or before they became vacant, and so

taking the appointments out of the hands of the electors,—the chapters of cathedrals and monasteries,—as well as out of the hands of the king and other patrons. This abuse had become much more prevalent since the papal court had taken up its residence at Avignon, and endeavoured to supplement in this way the revenues of its dignitaries. The abuse was more keenly felt when the papal provisions were, as they then often were, in favour of aliens and non-residents, sometimes in favour of natives of the country with which Edward was at war, and so the revenues destined to enable high officials suitably to discharge their functions, repair churches, and exercise hospitality, were drained from the kingdom and spent abroad. A further check was given to papal pretensions in 1353, when the statute of Præmunire was added, to make that of Provisors more effectual.

In 1365, certain arrears of the tribute imposed on King John, when he put his kingdom under the Pope, were refused, and the king was authorised to resist any attempt to enforce the payment 'with all the puissance of the realm.' Wyclif is supposed to have been present at that parliament, —by Lechler he is supposed to have been a member of it. To the last he continued to urge the civil authorities to resist the pretensions of the Popes, and is said to have counselled the

parliament of Richard II. (which re-enacted the statutes passed in the reign of his grandfather), that in the state of impoverishment to which the realm was then reduced, it might lawfully withhold from the Pope other sources of revenue which he had enjoyed from more ancient times. The earlier kings of the house of Lancaster, who owed their advancement to the throne very largely to the favour and influence of the prelates, not only yielded to their demands for increased powers to themselves, but withdrew from the contest with the Popes, and allowed the statutes above mentioned practically to fall into abeyance. Still these remained on the statute-book, and supplied the vantage ground from which Henry VIII. started on his wayward career, and was emboldened first to supersede Wolsey, then to strip his prelates of their independent or *quasi* independent jurisdiction, to reduce his clergy into subjection to his will, and finally to abolish the papal supremacy in his realm, and so to concentrate ecclesiastical as well as temporal supremacy within his dominions in the imperial crown. Probably the theory was, as Hallam and other constitutionalists contend, that this power was in the sovereign, as advised by his great council or parliament, and that ecclesiastical as well as civil regulations, intended permanently to bind the subjects of the realm, should have the assent of

their representatives, or that it was more entirely conceded to him, specially on account of his personal qualities. But whatever may have been the theory, the supremacy as a matter of fact, both under Henry VIII. and Edward VI., and again under Elizabeth, was generally claimed as the personal prerogative of the monarch, with which Parliament had no right to intermeddle, as if it belonged to the crown by a sort of right divine not only to judge in particular causes, but also to a certain extent to legislate, or without the consent of Parliament give validity to any ecclesiastical legislation proposed by Convocation. A *jus divinum absolutum* was claimed for the sovereign in matters ecclesiastical by many who would have scouted any similar claim in matters secular, and of course this *jus divinum* was more offensively asserted by many of those who, under the early Stuart kings, lent themselves to uphold their right divine more widely, and to justify their absolute and arbitrary procedure in matters civil as well as ecclesiastical. On the other hand, the more thoroughgoing Puritans who were opposed on principle to the absolute power and arbitrary actings of the sovereign in the State, were led on to question these in relation to the Church. Some of their leaders even in the reign of Elizabeth contended that the representatives of the nation in Parliament assembled should have a voice in

framing or sanctioning ecclesiastical laws, and pleaded with them to shield them from the queen and her ecclesiastical commissioners. At most they confined the supremacy of the sovereign to the judging of ecclesiastical causes according to the laws passed by Parliament, sometimes to the judging of these causes only in the last resort, and for the purpose of remedying what had been done amiss by the proper ecclesiastical tribunals. The spiritual sentences of these tribunals, and especially that of excommunication, they urged should not be pronounced by any lay judge or deputy, and they desired to see the old canon law superseded by some such *reformatio legum* as had been designed under Edward VI. Cartwright has been charged with expressing himself with almost papal arrogance as to the powers of the Church. His words were certainly incautious and ill-chosen, but they do not seem to me to imply more than that civil rulers in dealing with church causes must be guided by the rules laid down for them in the word of God, rather than by the rules of canon or of civil law. As Dr. Price has shown, it is only by separating the quotation[1] adduced from its

[1] 'It must be remembered that civil magistrates must govern it according to the rules prescribed in His word; and that as they are nourishers so they be servants unto the Church; and as they rule in the Church, so they must remember to subject themselves unto the Church, to submit their sceptres, to throw down their crowns before the Church; yea, as the prophet speaketh, to lick

context that it can be brought to bear the interpretation they have put on it. Other leading Puritans in somewhat later times, while personally owning the supremacy and the ecclesiastical commissioners who executed it, did not conceal their liking for a simpler, freer, and more independent government in the hands of the ministers and other office-bearers of the Church. Even the moderate men invited by the king to represent the party at the Hampton Court Conference ventured to complain of various abuses of the so-called ecclesiastical courts, and to urge the reformation of these abuses. Nor did they find the king professedly so hostile to their views about some of these abuses as about several of the other changes they asked of him.

the dust of the feet of the Church.' Here Hallam and others end their quotation, whereas they ought at least to have subjoined the explanation which follows: 'Wherein I mean not that the Church doth either wring the sceptres out of princes' hands, or taketh their crowns from their heads, or that it requireth princes to lick the dust of her feet (as the Pope under this pretence hath done), but I mean as the prophet meaneth, that whatsoever magnificence or excellency or pomp is either in them or in their estates and commonwealth, which doth not agree with the simplicity of the Church, that they will be content to lay down. . . . Otherwise God is made to give place to men, heaven to earth, and religion is made (as it were) a rule of Lesbia to be applied unto any estate of commonwealth whatsoever.'—Cartwright's *Reply to Whitgift*, p. 180. In short, he means very much what the Bohemians meant when they say in their Confession that magistrates 'coram Agno coronas deponentes una cum aliis regibus et sacerdotibus . . . spontaneam ipsi præstent obedientiam quo etiam Spiritus Sanctus . . . ipsos adhortatur. Psal. ii. 10, 11.'

The title of 'the only supreme head on earth of the Church of England' ascribed to Henry VIII., both by Convocation and Parliament, and retained by his son Edward VI., was formally abandoned by Elizabeth, nor, save from James himself and one of his flatterers at the Hampton Court Conference, do we hear more of the sovereign being a *mixta persona*. But it may be questioned if any real limitation of the supremacy was effected thereby. The Article of 1553 was, 'The King of England is supreme head in earth next under Christ of the Church of England and Ireland.' That of 1563 still asserted that 'The Queen's Majesty hath the chief power in this realm of England and other her dominions, unto whom the chief government of all estates of this realm, whether they be ecclesiastical or civil, *in all causes* doth appertain, and is not nor ought to be subject to any foreign jurisdiction.' Had the words in italics been left out, as they are in the Queen's injunctions,[1] the article would almost have satisfied the more advanced Puritans as being simply a denial of the jurisdiction claimed by the Pope. But, as it was, they desired to see more excluded from the sweep of the supremacy than 'the administration of the word and sacraments.' The first step towards this may be said to have been taken by Ussher in the Irish Articles, in which the words 'or the power of the

[1] Sparrow's *Collection*, pp. 68, 82.

keys' were added to those already mentioned, though the old statement regarding the supremacy was still retained. It remained for the Westminster Assembly to complete the work by leaving out this last, and adding to their statement of what the sovereign might not do a definite statement of what he might, in place of the general reference to the powers exercised by godly kings under the Old Testament, which had satisfied the framers of several of the earlier Reformed Confessions.

The course of matters on the Continent, at least in Lutheran states, was somewhat similar to what it was in England. Whatever Luther may have originally intended, there is no doubt that after the Peasant war he became very chary of encouraging popular government in any way, and ultimately lodged much of the power in matters ecclesiastical, which some were disposed to intrust to the people, in the hands of the magistrate, either simply in virtue of his civil office, or as being the natural representative of the unorganised Christian laity.[1] Ere long, this arrangement, occasioned by circumstances or necessity, was advocated on grounds of reason and Scripture, as being in theory also the best or the most legitimate one. This it was even outside the Lutheran church by Thomas Erastus, a physician and Professor of Medicine at

[1] See Schenkel's article *Kirche* in Hertzog's *Real-Encyclopädie.*

Heidelberg. In a treatise[1] on excommunication he maintained that the pastoral office was properly and only persuasive, and that the minister had not in virtue of his office any right to exercise ecclesiastical discipline, or to refuse admission to the most sacred ordinances to any one who claimed it. He might set forth the character and qualifications of worthy communicants, counsel, warn, and entreat those he deemed unworthy, but might not restrain or exclude them. That and all other disciplinary and coercive acts belonged not properly to the minister but to the magistrate in virtue of his office. This treatise was ably answered by Beza,[2] whose views were generally espoused by the Reformed Churches on the Continent as well as by the more advanced of the Puritans in England. Many of the laity, however, who sympathised with the Puritans, and a large number of the members of the Long Parliament, were strongly prepossessed in favour of the other view, and thought that the freedom of the laity from clerical oppression was bound up with the maintenance of the supremacy of the civil power, no longer represented by the

[1] *Explicatio gravissimæ questionis utrum excommunicatio mandato nitatur divino an excogitata sit ab hominibus.* It was written in 1568, but only published in 1589, after his death. It was translated into English in 1659 and again in 1844.

[2] *Tractatus da vera excommunicatione et Christiano presbyterio.* Londini, 1590.

sovereign alone, but by the Houses of Parliament, who in a sense claimed to represent the yet unorganised Christian laity of the kingdom.

In Scotland the course of matters had been very different from what it was in England, possibly before the Reformation, certainly from and after that crisis in the nation's history. Knox, while referring in his Confession to the examples of the godly kings under the Old Testament, and asserting in theory for the civil authorities extensive rights in the purgation and conservation of religion, yet in practice confined their rights within narrower and stricter limits, and did not hesitate when he deemed them wrong to act independently of them, sometimes even requiring them to receive the message of Jesus Christ as set forth by him and to regulate their procedure in accordance with it. From the first the General Assembly claimed to meet, as occasion required it should, for the good of the Church. From the first it claimed and exercised large powers of government and discipline. The statutes originally passed were no doubt more general than those which ultimately ratified its jurisdiction, but they were tolerably explicit, and pointed naturally in that direction which was afterwards more decidedly followed. I give below the Act of 1567, and place alongside of it the corresponding

Article and Act of the Elizabethan Convocation and Parliament:—

'The Queen's Majesty hath the chief power in this realm of England and other her dominions, unto whom the chief government of all estates of this realm, whether they be ecclesiastical or civil, in all causes doth appertain.' 'All such jurisdictions, privileges, superiorities, and pre-eminences, spiritual and ecclesiastical, as by any spiritual or ecclesiastical power or authority have heretofore been or may lawfully be exercised or used for the visitation of the ecclesiastical state and persons, or for reformation . . . of the same and of all manner errors, heresies, schisms, abuses, offences, contempt and enormities, shall for ever, by authority of this present Parliament, be united and annexed to the imperial crown of this realm.'

'Anent the jurisdictioun justlie apperteining to the trew Kirk and immaculat spous of Jesus Christ . . . the king's grace, with advice of my Lord Regent and three estatis of this present Parliament, hes declarit and grantit jurisdictioun to the said Kirk quhilk consistis and standis in preiching of the trew word of Jesus Christ, correctioun of maneris, and administratioun of haly sacramentis. And declaris that thair is na uther face of Kirk nor uther face of religioun, than is presentlie be the favor of God establisheit within this realme, and that thair be na uther jurisdictioun ecclesiasticall acknowledgit within this realm uther than that quhilk is and sal be within the same Kirk, or that whilk flowis thairfra, concerning the premisses.'

The import of the Scotch Act is as clear and unmistakeable as are the declarations of the English Article and Act to the opposite effect.[1] If more

[1] This difference was asserted by those who pleaded the cause of Scotland in 1640 with their English brethren. 'The second error ariseth from not knowing our laws and so measuring us with your line. It is surmised to us that our enemies object that we have broken our civil and temporal obedience, and trenched upon

were needed to bring out the contrast the subsequent history abundantly supplies it. The attempt was actually made by King James in 1584, to secure to himself by statute the same powers as an English sovereign exercised in matters ecclesiastical. But in 1592, by the Act which is still deemed the charter of the Church, not only are her courts and their jurisdiction ratified, but the Act of 1584, authorising the appointment by the crown of commissioners in ecclesiastical causes, is declared null and of no force or effect in time to come, and it is expressly provided that the Act of the same year authorising the king and his council to summon all manner of persons *super inquirendis*, shall be no way prejudicial 'nor derogate any thing to the privilege that God has given to the spiritual office-bearers in the Kirk, concerning heads of religion,

the King's prerogative in Parliament by offering acts prejudicial to his Majesty's power such as anent the abrogating all civil power from bishops and churchmen, and rescinding all acts formerly made in their favour . . . the Act anent the restitution of presbyteries to their rights of admission, our declaration at the unexampled raising of our Parliament, or such like. We neither know nor will examine if according to your law these may be accounted derogatory to royal authority. But it is most sure and evident by all the registers and records of our laws . . . that they properly belong to the cognition of our Parliament, and that we have proceeded at this time upon no other ground than our laws and practice of this kingdom never before questioned, but inviolably observed as the only rule of our government.'—*Information from the Estates of the kingdom of Scotland to the kingdom of England*, 1640.

matters of heresy, excommunication, collation or deprivation of ministers, or any such essential censures specially grounded [on] and having warrant of the Word of God.' Thus the power of godly kings, according to Scottish law and teaching, was meant to be not privative, but cumulative of that of the office-bearers of the Church. It is only by ignoring these facts and assuming that Scottish law was similar to English, that some modern English historians can make out the semblance of a justification for James in his conflict with the Melvilles and the party in the Scottish Church of which they were the leaders. Whatever their failings and shortcomings, these men maintained with the cause of ecclesiastical independence that of constitutional liberty and limited monarchy, against absolutism and arbitrary power just as truly as the patriots of the Long Parliament and the Westminster Assembly. And though overborne for a time after the accession of the Stuarts to the English throne, their views had been reasserted not in word only but also in act. The whole of their second Reformation rested on the re-assertion of these views, and the restoration to their place of honour in the statute-book of those laws in which they were embodied. From the approbation of their proceedings expressed by the patriots of the South they were led perhaps too

readily to conclude that they agreed with them in their principles, or that it would be easy by a little more argument, and closer acquaintance, to bring them over to do so. They did not make due allowance for national antecedents, and different standpoints, and holding their views to be bound up almost with the *esse* as well as the *bene esse*[1] of a church, they urged them with a persistency and fervour which seemed overbearing to many of their lay friends in England. And if Baillie has not done them injustice, they had recourse at times to petty arts of diplomacy which, however they might have escaped observation or censure among their own countrymen, could hardly fail to be discovered and resented in the land of their sojourn by the acute and able statesmen with whom they had to deal, and so immeasurably to increase the difficulties of the work on which their hearts were set. Baillie restlessly wrote (vol. ii. pp. 179, 197, 252) to friends on the Continent to send testimonies or arguments in favour of the Scottish views to influence the Assembly and the Parliament, and sadly disappointed the good man was when the testimonies did not in every point come up to his expectations. He busied himself also in organising opposition in the city to the measures of the

[1] This question was set out for debate in the Westminster Assembly, but not formally decided in it. See *Minutes*, p. 220.

Parliament, and was still more sadly disappointed when this piece of artillery 'played nip-shot.'[1] Even one who deems the House of Commons mistaken can hardly fail to admire the pluck with which they stood the siege, or to wonder that a man so shrewd as Baillie should have hoped to overpower them by such arms, or to avoid raising against his countrymen and their cause the indignation to which Milton gave voice soon after with all the more scathing bitterness because of his personal differences with them and their friends on the question of divorce.[2]

But while regard to truth requires me to say thus much of the failings of my honoured countrymen, it gives me unfeigned satisfaction to be able

[1] *Letters and Journals*, vol. ii. p. 362.

[2] 'But we do hope to find out all your tricks,
Your plots and packing worse than those of Trent,
That so the Parliament
May with their wholesome and preventive shears,
Clip your phylacteries though baulk your ears,
And succour our just fears,
When they shall read this clearly in your charge
New PRESBYTER is but old PRIEST writ large.'

The 'Scotch What d'ye call' of the Sonnet Professor Masson rightly conjectures to be Baillie himself. And as another remarks the name of the sainted Rutherfurd has in it been consigned to posterity rhyming with civil sword. Their phylacteries were not broader than those of his own most cherished friends, nor their lives less truly Christian. The coarse charge of dallying with the widowed 'plurality' is even more spiteful. They were the first in England to refuse to give testimonials to ministers seeking institution to more than one parish. Several of them held a benefice in connection with a University chair, but that was a union of offices allowed in the Scottish, French, and Dutch

now to add that in their great works on Church-government published about the same time weapons more worthy of the mighty contest were supplied by Rutherfurd and Gillespie,[1] and that the letters and counsels sent from the Continent in answer to their urgent entreaties were not the only nor in my humble opinion the most memorable of those then addressed to the Church of England to encourage and counsel it in the work of reformation. I have adverted to one remarkable treatise already (p. 113), which appeared before the Assembly met, and was not altogether to the mind of the Scotch, though in this matter of the power of the keys its author came nearer to their views than to those of the English Parliament.[2] I cannot omit to mention another, which though put into its present shape at a later date to help on such a reformation as the English Puritans

Churches of that age who allowed no plurality of parishes. A number driven from their benefices in the country by the Cavaliers were, to preserve them from starving, admitted for a time to sequestrated livings and lectureships in London, but as the country was pacified the number even of these was diminished, and more than one upbraided with this fault offered to resign if assured of the revenues of his own benefice.

[1] *The Divine Right of Church Government and Excommunication*, by Rutherfurd, and *Aaron's Rod blossoming, or the Divine Ordinance of Church Government vindicated*, by Gillespie, both published at London early in 1646.

[2] 'Hoc est, ni fallor vera sententia de potestate et ministris clavium quam probatam cupimus inclyto Cætui ut deinceps abrogato tribunali quod celsam Commissionem vocant et abusu curiarum episcopalium e medio sublato, Synedria Ecclesiastica non

desired in 1660, yet can hardly be doubted to embody views which its author held and expressed at this earlier date.[1] This is the *Paræsenesis ad ecclesias, nominatim Anglicanam, de optima ecclesiastici regiminis forma pie solicitam* of John Amos Comenius, a bishop of the church of the Bohemian brethren, and the only one then remaining of those who had been driven out from their native land in the war of extermination waged against them in consequence of their election of the son-in-law of James I. to be their king. He is supposed to have been in England in the autumn of 1642 or spring of 1643, in intimate association not with the Scotch, but with Milton and their mutual friend Hartlieb. Of his relations with them, and his literary or educational activities, a full and interesting account has been given by Professor Masson in his life of Milton. But he does not advert to the Bishop's keen interest in and

alias infligant pœnas quam ecclesiasticas . . . Pastores arceant a communione peccantes, quin et intentent extremum illud fulmen excommunicationis, ut non obedientes censura . . . coram tribunali politico sistant.' As to lesser offences of which the laws of the state take no special notice, he says it belongs to the church courts to make strict inquiry 'nec quemquam admittere ad sacræ cænæ synaxin qui ea procul a se non abjecerit et veniam ex penitentia non impetraverit.'—*Consilium de reformanda ecclesia Anglicana.*

[1] The Latin letter of the Assembly was certainly sent to the Bohemian and Hungarian as well as to the nearer Reformed Churches. The *Ratio Disciplinæ Ordinisque Ecclesiastici in Unitate Fratrum Bohemorum*, to which in 1660 the *Paræsenesis* was appended, was certainly also published in 1643.

thorough acquaintance with the various phases of the movement for the reform of the English Church. Baillie, I think, must have known of these, and that probably was the reason he refused to encourage the Bishop's friend Dury to seek admission to the Assembly. And yet with all his divergences from the wishes of the Scotch and his leanings towards those of Ussher in regard to a reformed liturgy and combination of episcopacy and presbytery, he pronounces decidedly against the whole body of the ceremonies, and in the most importunate manner pleads for the restoration of the key of discipline as well as that of doctrine to the ministers of the Church.[1]

The question of the autonomy of the Church came up first in the Westminster Assembly when its members were preparing the Propositions concerning Church-government, of which an account was given in my last Lecture, and it was then that

[1] He quotes Olevianus and Schlisselburgius as bearing mournful testimony to the sad state both of the Reformed and Lutheran churches in Germany through the want of discipline and the intrusion of the civil power into the ecclesiastical domain: 'Est Cæsareo-papatus confusio ecclesiasticæ et politicæ potestatis quâ domini politici . . . sub prætextu custodiæ utriusque tabulæ rapiunt sibi gladium spiritualem ac se dominos supra ecclesiam et ministerium constituunt.' This was as resolutely to be opposed as the 'Papa-cæsareatus,' the assumption of civil power by the Pope. It was to the apostles and their successors, the pastors of the Church, that the Lord had said, 'Ye are the salt of the earth. 'Ergo qui his ecclesiasticam disciplinam manibus excutiunt, salem eos sine salsedine esse volunt.'—*Paræneis*, p. iii.

that far-famed single combat between Selden and Gillespie[1] took place around which later Scottish tradition has thrown such a halo. Negatively the Propositions are against any human headship, or any right of the civil magistrate to rule in Christ's house. Positively they set forth Christ as the Head of the Church and Head over all things to the Church, who has given all officers necessary for its edification and the perfecting of the saints. These officers are enumerated, their functions described, and their power of rule and censure asserted. And while a subordination of courts, to whom a right of appeal belongs, is maintained, no mention is made of any right of appeal from them to the magistrate or to Parliament. There can be no doubt therefore that any power meant to be acknowledged as belonging to him, or it, must have been regarded as extrinsic not intrinsic, ἔξω not ἔσω τῆς ἐκκλησίας, *circa sacra* not *in sacris*. When these

[1] The manuscript Minutes coincide with Lightfoot's *Journal* in assigning Gillespie's speech not to the session of 20th but to that of 21st February. In Gillespie's own Notes it is introduced at the close of the account of the former session with the words, 'I reply,' not I replied, and may simply embody a brief outline of the reply he was to make on the following day. The reply made to Selden on the spur of the moment was that of Herle, who in 1646 succeeded Dr. Twisse as Prolocutor, and judging even from the fragmentary jottings preserved by Byfield, one cannot doubt that it was a very able reply. Gillespie and Young appear to have taken the evening to arrange their thoughts, and at next session made very telling replies, the former to the general line of argument, the latter to the citations from rabbinical and patristic authorities.

Propositions were being digested into the practical Directory for Church-government, it was proposed to insert a proposition describing the authority the magistrate might claim and the duties he was to discharge towards the Church: 'The civil magistrate hath authority, and it is his duty, to provide that the word of God be truly and duly preached, the sacraments rightly administered, church-government and discipline established and duly executed according to the word of God.'[1] But after debate it was resolved to waive this and some other propositions in reference to the discipline, and when they were brought up in reference to the Confession of Faith, the above was no longer the first proposition, nor even the first part of the third, and it was considerably changed in form. But the autonomy of the Church and the right of its office-bearers to the power of the keys is distinctly implied throughout that Directory, and especially in all that it inculcates as to the powers and duties of congregational elderships, classical presbyteries, and the superior Church courts. Before that Directory was completed, however, the Assembly deemed it their duty to bring under the notice of the Houses the great importance of speedy order being taken for 'the keeping of ignorant and scandalous persons from the sacrament.' Their petition has not been engrossed in

[1] *Minutes of the Westminster Assembly*, pp. 89, 224.

the Journals of either House, but that presented four days later in name of the ministers of London has been preserved in the Journals of the House of Lords, and as it was no doubt very similar I shall insert the substance of it in a note.[1] The effect of the petitions was such that the House of Lords at once passed and sent down to the Commons an ordinance 'concerning the admission of persons to the sacrament.' But the clause in it relating to the keeping away of the ignorant and scandalous was not to the mind of the Commons, and instead of passing it in terms so general they resolved to require a full enumeration of what these terms were meant to include, and to refer it to the Assembly of Divines to express the

[1] After a reference to the great things the Parliament had already accomplished, and the expectation of greater they had thus been encouraged to cherish, they proceed: 'Extreme necessity doth enforce us, with sad hearts, to present to your deep and pious considerations the dangerous and unspeakable mischiefs which like a flood break in upon us, and swell higher and higher every day, every man taking liberty to do what is right in his own eyes, because no ecclesiastical discipline or government at all is yet settled for the guarding of the precious ordinances of Christ, especially that holy sacrament of the Lord's Supper, from profanation and contempt, whence it comes to pass that God is much dishonoured, the tender consciences of many, both ministers and people, are offended, multitudes fall away into several and strange by-paths of separation . . . the pious ministers are extremely discouraged in their ministerial employments, [and] many that have formerly manifested good affections, being much wearied with long expectation, do daily withdraw both from the Parliament their orthodox ministers and from one another.' Immanuel Bourne is the first who signs in name of the London ministers.

particulars of that ignorance and scandal for which they conceive that some persons ought to be suspended from the Communion. This course, if not meant, as their opponents insinuated, mainly for purposes of obstruction, was at least inconsistent with that which they were content to follow in the case of the more serious censure of excommunication, and it was unfortunate in its issue for themselves even more than for the Assembly. The first answers to the reference do not seem to have been so detailed as the House desired, and the matter was again remitted to the Assembly. On their representation it was resolved that persons to be admitted ought to have a competent understanding of the doctrine of the Trinity, of the state of man by creation and by his fall, of redemption by Jesus Christ, and the means to apply Christ and His benefits, of the necessity of faith, repentance, and a godly life, of the nature and use of the sacraments, and of the condition of man after this life; and it was once more remitted to them to state in detail 'what they think to be a competent knowledge of these things.' This they did without delay, and brought up on 1st April that terse statement which on the 17th was substantially passed by the Houses and embodied in their subsequent ordinance, and soon after made the basis of various catechisms intended to prepare the catechumens for the Communion. It

is worthy of more attention than for long it has received, and worthy especially of the attention of those who think some simpler statement of doctrine is needed than the Assembly have supplied in their confession and catechisms, and accordingly I shall insert it in the Appendix to these Lectures (Note L). During the months of April and May various communications passed between the Assembly and the House of Commons respecting a detailed enumeration of scandalous offences, but the new modelling of the army and other pressing business arising out of the war occupied the House so closely that summer, that the promised ordinance and regulations for suspension of the scandalous were left in abeyance. Accordingly, on 1st August, the Assembly presented to them a second and more urgent petition on the subject. The same petition was on the 4th of August presented to the House of Lords, and fortunately has been inserted at length in their Journals. I subjoin it in slightly abridged form:

After a brief reference to their former petition they express their deep sense of the burthen of the arduous and most pressing affairs which lay on the Houses, and of the fidelity, zeal, and self-denial they had shown in the right ordering of them. Yet considering how God had honoured them above all other Parliaments since the first reformation in putting it into their hearts to repair His house and bring it to farther perfection than at the first, and had blessed them with tokens of His favour, they venture to represent that there can be no more proper way of showing their

gratitude to God, nor any surer way to preserve His favour, than that the Houses and they should hasten to complete the service they had undertaken for His church. 'When we remember,' they say, 'that as formerly in times of reformation amongst the Jews sometimes the godly magistrates encouraged the Priests and Levites to promote the reformation by them intended as Hezekiah and Josiah did, and sometimes the Lord's prophets have in like manner encouraged the godly magistrates unto the same work as Haggai and Zechariah did; so it hath been your often pious care to call upon this Assembly to hasten the work of the government of the Church (when by reason of great difficulties it staid longer in our hands than was expected by others or by ourselves desired), and withal you have been pleased to receive with much favour the humble desires of this Assembly, when out of the conscience of our duty both to God and you, we have at any time stirred you up by putting you likewise in remembrance of the same great and most necessary business.' 'We are by these considerations emboldened, yea even constrained with so much the more importunity, to renew our former humble petition for the keeping of all scandalous persons from this sacrament, and which we conceive, as in all the former respects, very necessary most reasonable and consonant to those things which have already passed the judgment and vote of the honourable Houses; for if any scandalous sins deserve abstention, then likewise all other scandalous sins do lie under the same demerit, and by parity of reason should undergo the like censure. And this is certainly most conform to the general practice and judgment of the churches of God both ancient and modern; for albeit there may be, amongst learned and pious men, difference of judgment touching the particular kind and form of ecclesiastical polity, and some particular parts and officers thereunto belonging, yet in this one point there is a general consent, that as Christ hath ordained a government and governors in His church, in His name and according to His will to order the same, so one special and principal branch of that government is to seclude from ecclesiastical communion such as shall publicly scandalise

and offend the Church of God, that thereby being ashamed and humbled they may be brought to repentance and glorify God in the day of visitation. Nor do we find that there hath been any great doubt or question made thereof in the Church, until Erastus, a physician, who by his profession may be supposed to have had better skill in curing the diseases of the natural than the scandals of the ecclesiastical body, did move the controversy.' The following are the reasons they assign for their urgency in this matter:—'As the conscience of our own ministry, and desire of comfortable continuance therein, and the care of all our brethren whose case is the same, and who from many parts mind us of our duty in their behalf; and as the discharge of that service to which we are by your authority called to present our humble advice in matters of this nature, do hereunto oblige us, so also the bond of our late solemn Covenant engaging us to promote the reformation of our church according to the Word of God and the example of the best reformed churches (both which we humbly assume to be with us in this particular), the longing desires of the godly to have this business settled . . . the great danger to the souls of scandalous communicants which both magistrates and ministers in their places should endeavour to prevent not only in some but in all scandals; yea, the very practice of heathens themselves who removed profane persons from their *sacra:* All these and the like considerations, not without the encouragement of these honourable Houses in accepting our former humble desires in this behalf, have at this time engaged us to renew our earnest petition to the same effect.'

This petition, any one may see at a glance, was the production not of ignorant enthusiasts, but of intelligent and thoughtful men, who could reason forcibly in support of their plea, and were in sober earnest in urging it. Some would have had it presented by the Assembly as a body, the more to mark their sense of its importance. But this

seemed to the majority to be too strong a step, and it was finally intrusted to the Committee, which drew it up, and to Mr. Newcomen, their Convener, who had probably had most to do in preparing it. One solitary member at least had opposed it, and in his thanksgiving sermon before the Commons, on 30th July, had expounded his views to more willing hearers than he had in the Assembly. This was Thomas Coleman, famed for his rabbinic learning and debating powers, who had been driven by the Cavaliers from his parish in Lincolnshire, and forced like many other ministers on the parliamentary side to take refuge in London, where he got the appointment to St. Peter's, Cornhill, one of the sequestrated benefices. He was chosen a member of the Assembly, and became even more decidedly than Lightfoot the champion of Erastianism in it. He specially opposed the clause in the petition 'of Erastus his learning,' and before it was given in had endeavoured to prejudice the House against it in the sermon he preached before them. On the day the petition was presented he was taken to task by the Assembly, and a committee was appointed to draw up a written representation on the subject to be sent to the House of Commons. Apparently before the report was finally adopted an opportunity 'of speaking was granted to Mr. Coleman, if he would voluntarily recant.' He refused to

admit much of what had been reported as having been really maintained by him. As to that which he acknowledged he maintained, it was his judgment though it might differ from that of the Assembly. He was sorry he had given offence by what he had done both to the Assembly and the Scotch Commissioners, and he promised that he would not add to the offence by printing his sermon. On Monday, when the Assembly held its next meeting, however, he requested the Assembly either to relieve him from his promise or 'to take order for the occasion,' and he protested that it be considered 'null and void.' He printed his sermon, and engaged in that famous controversy with Gillespie, respecting its views, of which Dr. Hetherington has given so detailed an account. I turn rather to another aspect of the contest. The conduct of Coleman, in preaching this sermon and printing it, notwithstanding the promise he had given not to do so, had probably quite as much to do with the further action of the Assembly as the unfavourable rumours which reached them as to the unsatisfactory form the ordinance was to take. A committee of ten of the members, assisted by the Scotch Commissioners, drew up a still more resolute, yet more importunate petition, which was duly adopted and presented by a large deputation, on 8th August, to the House of Commons, and on the 12th to the House

of Lords, in whose Journals it is recorded at length. It bears the signature of William Twisse, Prolocutor, and may be taken as evidence that he was still able occasionally to attend the meetings of Assembly, and to interest himself in their proceedings. Mr. White, who signed it as assessor, and presented it to both Houses, made a brief but hearty speech commending it to their earnest consideration. It asserts, even more resolutely than the previous one, the autonomy of the Church, argues the case with still deeper feeling of the importance of the issue, and pleads more importunately for a speedy and favourable settlement of the question. No nobler paper proceeded from the Assembly, nor could Twisse have closed his official career more worthily than by putting his name to it. At the risk of tediousness, I must quote from it at least in part. After reminding the Houses of what they had already done in a matter of so high concern, they say :—

'Our spirits within constrain us yet further humbly to beseech you in this particular ; and we hope it will not seem grievous unto you, if in conscience of that duty, which we as ministers, and more especially as met in this Assembly, owe to God, to His Church, and to yourselves, we are yet again humble and importunate petitioners in this thing ; seeing God is our record, and we hope it is manifest to your consciences that herein we seek not ourselves, or private interests, but the glory of God, the pure administration of His ordinances, the welfare of souls, and the peace and good of this whole nation. . . . We should not use this opportunity did we not firmly believe that what we

have desired and do desire herein is the will and command of our Lord Jesus Christ, who is the King and Lawgiver in His Church, and therefore we dare not but in His name ask it, and doubt not by His grace to obtain it of the Honourable Houses.' Were it not that they cherished such a hope their hearts would fail within them, 'for this poor nation,' and therefore as watchmen set on Zion's walls, they dared not hold their peace especially when they called to mind that the Honourable Houses had been pleased to bind themselves, and them, and the nation, in a solemn and sacred Covenant, wherein they had sworn to endeavour to remove and reform all that was contrary to sound doctrine and the power of godliness, lest they should become partakers of other men's sins, and be in danger to receive of their plagues. 'God,' they continue, 'hath greatly strengthened your hands against Popery, Prelacy, and superstition, and for the rest of these roots of bitterness which we have covenanted against, especially schism and profaneness, we know no better way of providing against them than this for which we now petition; which we are confident will (through the blessing of God) be the happiest means of healing the present and preventing future schisms, by removing out of the way that which hath been one of the greatest stumbling-blocks, and by reconciling all the godly in the kingdom, and will give much ease and satisfaction to weak and tender consciences, and which will give the greatest check to profaneness as sealing conviction upon the consciences of sinners most powerfully; for it is not to be imagined that our denouncing the terrors of the Lord against wicked and profane persons will prevail much upon their hearts, while they may (even as soon as they have heard that sermon) come and receive the sacrament, and therein, as they think, the seal of grace and salvation to themselves.' Then, taking up the charges and insinuations of their opponents, they boldly yet with all deference continue: 'We hope we shall not need to plead for ourselves that the power of keeping away scandalous and unworthy persons from the Lord's table, which Jesus Christ hath placed in the ministers and elders of His

churches (the free and peaceable exercise whereof we humbly desire may be confirmed unto them by your sanction), is not an arbitrary or unlimited power; for how can that power be called arbitrary which is not according to the will of man, but the will of Christ? or how can it be supposed to be unlimited which is circumscribed and regulated by the exactest law—the Word of God; which law, in case any shall transgress and abuse this power to serve their lusts instead of serving Christ in the exercise thereof, we have advised and humbly desire that superior Assemblies may be established amongst us, who may not only relieve the injured, but censure offenders according to their demerit. Nor is this power in the least measure (as we humbly conceive) inconsistent with the liberties of the subject, it being exercised wholly and solely in that which is no part of civil liberty—the sacrament—which certainly none can claim as he is a free-born subject of any kingdom or state, but as he is visibly a member of the Church qualified according to the rule of Christ. Only we crave leave to entreat you to consider that other Christian States, which are jealous of the encroachments of an arbitrary power, and very tender of their own just liberties, have granted the full exercise of the power of censures unto the elderships of their churches; yea, and among ourselves, power equivalent to this was intrusted to every single minister and curate in England as (in our humble apprehensions) appears both by the injunctions of King Edward the Sixth and by the injunctions and articles of inquiry of Queen Elizabeth, princess of famous memory, and by the late Book of Common Prayer and rubric before the sacrament; nor do we at present call to mind that any Christian prince or State whose heart God did incline to seek a reformation, as you have covenanted to do, and to establish a government according to the word, did ever deny this power unto the presbyteries in their dominions; and we trust God loves the Parliament and England so well as not to suffer them to be the first. Yet can we not (lest our own heart should smite us as not having done our duties to the utmost), but continue most humbly to advise and pray that ministers and

other elders may be sufficiently enabled to keep not only some but all such as are justly and notoriously scandalous from the sacrament of the Lord's Supper; for should things be so ordered (which God forbid) that any wicked and scandalous persons might without control thrust themselves upon this sacrament, we do evidently foresee that not only we, but many of our godly brethren, must be put upon this hard choice, either to forsake our stations in the ministry, which would be to us one of the greatest afflictions, or else to partake in other men's sins, and thereby incur the danger of their plagues; and *if we must choose one, we are resolved, and we trust our God will help us, to choose affliction rather than iniquity.*'

No more memorable petition was presented even to that memorable Parliament than that we have given above, so faithful, yet respectful, so cogent in argument, yet calm in tone, so importunate, yet truly dignified. It was altogether worthy of the occasion, worthy of the venerated divines whose official signatures it bore, and worthy of the great Assembly which all but unanimously indorsed it. If aught would yet have availed to make the Erastian lawyers and over-zealous sticklers for the rights of the laity pause in their course, this petition ought to have done so. But so wedded were they to their own views, and so careless of consequences, that it availed not even to defer the issue. On 19th August they passed and published Directions for the choice of Ruling Elders, and on 20th October Rules and Directions concerning suspension from the Lord's Supper in cases of ignorance and scandal, but with such haste that

on the 22d they had to order the copies which had been printed to be called in and suppressed as being erroneously printed. The deficiencies of the first as well as of the second were forcibly set forth in one of the petitions from the City ministers, transmitted through the Lord Mayor to the Houses on 20th November. These did not altogether 'play nipshot,' as Baillie has it. For on 20th February 1645-6 four resolutions, and on 26th two more supplementing the Directions of the 19th August were issued by the Houses, and on 14th March an additional ordinance for the suspension of the scandalous, not only, as it professes, correcting errors of the press and supplying defects in the former one, but changing some of its most important and what ought to have been its most carefully considered provisions—those, namely, by which it set itself in opposition to the Assembly and to many of the most devoted of its own lay friends, and substituted, instead of that court of Ecclesiastical Commission which it had abolished, commissioners of its own number to give directions to the elderships in cases not enumerated, and to receive and determine appeals from them. The ordinance of the 20th October had appointed only one body of commissioners, and these the members of both Houses that then were members of the Assembly, and apparently rather with the view that they should prepare matters for the Parlia-

ment than themselves decide them. The ordinance of 14th March, besides correcting a number of the defects in the former one pointed out in the London petition above referred to, substituted for the single body of commissioners formerly named, a body of commissioners in every province to be appointed by Parliament, who apparently were, in cases of discipline, virtually to supersede the synod of the province. It had been attempted in the first ordinance to give a sort of *quasi* ecclesiastical character to the commissioners, by confining them to the members of the Houses who were members of the Assembly. In the second the same end was sought to be attained by requiring in them all the qualifications required of ruling elders, viz., that they 'be men of good understanding in matters of religion, sound in the faith, prudent, discreet, grave, and of unblamable conversation, and such as do usually receive the sacrament of the Lord's Supper as members of a presbyterial congregation.' This was the last drop of wormwood in Baillie's cup. 'They have passed an ordinance,' he mournfully writes to Dickson in Scotland, 'not only for appeals from the General Assembly to the Parliament, for two ruling elders to one minister in every church meeting, for no censure except in such particular offences as they have enumerated; but also, which vexes us most, and against which we have been labouring this

month bygone, a court of civil commissioners in every county, to whom the congregational elderships must bring all cases not enumerated, to be reported by them with their judgment to the Parliament or their committee.' Hard had the good man laboured, wire pulling and letter writing, if haply the House of Lords might be persuaded 'to scrape out all that concerns the commissioners of shires, and put in their room the classical presbyteries to be reporters to the Parliament of all not enumerated cases of scandals.' But though Manchester the speaker resolutely opposed the obnoxious clause, the House by a majority of one decided to pass it. This troubled him and his friends exceedingly, but how to help it they 'could not well tell.' They were perplexed, yet not in despair. The Sectaries, the lawyers, and the Erastians had combined against them. They, the Assembly and the City, would make yet one more united effort to preserve their darling presbytery from the threatened discredit. The Assembly seems to have led the way, and their petition and remonstrance alone has found a place in the Journals of the Houses. On 20th March Mr. Marshall directed the attention of the Assembly to the recent ordinance which the Houses had passed after long and serious debate, and which they who had had the honour of tendering their advice would be expected to go before others in

helping to put in practice. While he blessed God for the zeal shown by the Houses in endeavouring to settle the government of the Church, yet he felt there were some things in the ordinance which lay heavily on his own conscience and the consciences of many of his brethren, and he urged the Assembly seriously to consider whether anything further could be done to set them right. After Mr. Vines and Mr. Seaman had briefly expressed their concurrence in his views, he and they and Mr. Newcomen, the convener of the former committee, were appointed to consider what in point of conscience might warrant their making once more their humble address to the Houses. The same day their report was presented, and with a few alterations approved of. The petition is a brief but pithy recapitulation of their former arguments and remonstrances. While thanking God for the many blessings he had made this Parliament his instruments to convey unto these poor kingdoms, and professing themselves thereby the more obliged to show all readiness to carry out their wishes so far as conscience permitted, yet, out of a sense of their duty to God, to the Parliament, and to the souls of the rest of their brethren, they felt constrained to represent in all humility and faithfulness that there was still a great defect in the enumeration of scandalous sins, and that the provision of commissioners to judge of scandals

not enumerated appeared to them so contrary to the way of government which Christ had appointed in His Church, that they dared not practise according to that provision, nor, considering the trust reposed in them, altogether hold their peace at this time. Therefore they humbly pray that the several elderships may 'be sufficiently enabled to keep back all such as are notoriously scandalous from the sacrament of the Lord's Supper,' affirming that it expressly belonged to them by divine right and by the will and appointment of Jesus Christ, and that by the help of superior Assemblies all inconveniences feared from maladministration may be prevented, and the magistrate 'to whom,' they say, 'we profess the Church to be accountable for their proceedings in all their elderships and church assemblies, and punishable by him with civil censures for their miscarriages, may be so abundantly satisfied of the equity thereof,' that they trust his heart will be moved by God to strengthen the hands of church officers in their duties, and even to command them to act zealously and faithfully in them. On Monday morning the Assembly in a body carried up the petition, which was presented by Mr. Marshall.[1] The

[1] The petition is reprinted in full in *Minutes of Westminster Assembly*, pp. 209, 210, 211. The remonstrances of the Scotch to the same effect and the surreptitious publication of their papers added greatly to the irritation of the Commons.

House of Commons did not take it in good part, and after it had in various sessions been discussed in grand committee and in the House, it was on 11th April resolved by 88 to 76 that the petition presented by the Assembly of Divines was a breach of the privilege of Parliament. A committee, of which Selden was a member, was appointed to state the particulars of the breach of privilege, and to draw up certain queries to be put to the Divines regarding the *jus divinum* of church-government. The statement was approved by the House on the 21st, and the queries on the 22d April, and a small committee was appointed to communicate 'in a fair manner' to the Assembly the vote of the House as to the breach of privilege, to enlarge on the several heads of the statement above mentioned, and to deliver the queries.

Seldom has the House of Commons put itself into a less dignified position than it did on this occasion. Willing to wound, yet afraid to strike, deliberately ignoring the other House of Parliament, and the large minority of its own members who were averse to its policy, it rushed into a conflict in which success could bring it no glory, and failure must bring certain discredit or dishonour. The sympathies of religious people—of all but the most splenetic of those who usually opposed them —could not fail to be drawn forth towards the men who under constraint of conscience

had stated in so calm and respectful terms their inability to act on the conditions which by a narrow majority had been fixed, and their determination to suffer rather than to be instrumental in carrying out what they believed to be wrong. If the thing itself was a mistake, the manner in which it was performed was far more decidedly so. It was not worthy of an English House of Commons in such a case to send delegates to say by word of mouth what themselves had not ventured to put on record. If their own isolated position and the general respect for the Assembly restrained them from dealing with the alleged offence as breach of privilege should have been dealt with, it should have restrained their deputies from representing it as even of a graver character than the House in its statement had ventured to assert, and as having made them liable to the penalty of a *præmunire*.

It was not till the 30th April that the deputies of the House of Commons appeared in the Assembly to fulfil their mission, and if one may judge of the tenor of their addresses from the fragmentary notes of their speeches jotted down by the scribe of the Assembly, and from the references made to them in the memorable speech delivered by Johnston of Warriston on the following day, he can hardly avoid coming to the conclusion that they displayed more annoyance and irritation than became so grave an occasion, and the whole action less fore-

thought and caution than might have been expected from men so well versed in the management of affairs. Sir John Evelyn spoke first, and apparently with most temper. After enlarging on the offence which the contents of their petition had given, and stating how it might warrantably have been dealt with had it come from any other quarter, he passed on to speak of the queries which he hints they had heard it said were sent to retard the settlement of church-government. That, he assured them, was not their object in sending them. The matters to which they related were worthy of serious consideration, and the opinions of the Assembly would be received by the House with due respect. But in coming to a decision they must be allowed the freedom of their reason, and liberty of judgment. 'The House of Commons,' he continued, 'is very sensible of the faithful and useful endeavours of yourselves, and though they had not been so often reminded of it they would not have forgotten it.' In conclusion he seems to have expressed a hope that these services were not now to be discontinued, or a breach made between them, and warned them that if there should, they would give occasion to all the world to say that as they had been willing to serve the Parliament for a while, so they wished the Parliament to serve them for ever after. The Parliament were not unwilling to submit their necks to the yoke of Christ,

for that was an easy yoke, and what proved to be a galling yoke was none of His. Mr. Fiennes, who made the next and what was probably intended to be the principal speech, showed more tact, while he expressed himself with no less decision. This address has been more fully recorded by the scribe, and I can find room for only a single extract. 'If an Assembly,' he says, 'so soon as a law is made, set a brand upon it as contrary to the will of God and mind of Jesus Christ and our Covenant, what can more stifle it in the birth, and make it of none effect? Can any man call that to be an advice, and not rather a controlling and contradiction of what was already done? Did the Houses of Parliament give any colour of power to this Assembly to give any interpretation of the national Covenant especially in relation to the making of laws? Not a particular member may speak against a vote without leave, and shall [you claim] not only to debate, but to arraign and condemn it, nay, to pass the highest doom upon it, that it is contrary to the will of God and the national Covenant . . . For any without authority to interpose their advice is to encroach upon that which is proper to the great council of the kingdom. How much more to set up judgment against judgment, *altare contra altare*, tie them up to a particular sense, and that under pain of breaking God's law and incurring the censure of breach

of Covenant.' Then, forgetting that what the Assembly had done was known only to themselves and the Houses, he proceeds: 'To arm the hands of the subjects against the authority and power of the Parliament every one knoweth what it is, and to arm the hearts and consciences against it is the next of kin to it, and the one but the high road to the other.' 'These things,' he says in conclusion, 'are not the ways of Englishmen, Christians, and ministers of Christ' (and here probably may have dropped out that reference to those of another nation to which we shall find Johnston alluding). 'We come to speak plainly to you and plain English. It is not in the thoughts of the House to disgrace or discourage you in your ministry.' Mr. Browne, who spoke next, enlarged on legal precedents as to such offences, and the penalty of *præmunire* which the House had not explicitly mentioned, and reminded them not only how the Pope had abused spiritual power, but how they had smarted from the abuse of it by others, forgetting apparently that all the worst acts of these others were done by them as Ecclesiastical Commissioners acting under the sanction of those statutes which gave ecclesiastical authority to the Head of the State. Sir Benjamin Rudyard spoke briefly upon the queries regarding the *jus divinum* of church-government, and the mode in which the House expected them to be answered, 'not by far-fetched

arguments which are commonly cold before you come to the matter,' but in plain and express terms. He had heard much spoken of 'the pattern in the mount,' but could never for his part find it in the New Testament.

They had been threatened with a *præmunire* by the king before they began their work. They were now told by the deputies of that House whom they had risked so much to serve that they had incurred that penalty. They must have listened with pain to the speeches, but they listened in silence. No angry word escaped them. No course of action was hastily resolved on. They read the paper which the deputies had left, and quietly adjourned for the day. Friends as well as opponents of the policy of the House of Commons have asserted that the queries were proposed *animo tentandi non ædificandi*. But the deputies protested the contrary. The Assembly took them at their word, and next day calmly proceeded to make arrangements for the work devolved on them.[1] It

[1] The queries left by the deputies, and the order of the House of Commons regarding them, are to be found at pp. 225 and 226 of the printed volume of the Minutes of the Assembly, the formal statement of their case against the Assembly at pp. 456, 457, and the speeches at pp. 448-456. The queries are subjoined.

'Whereas it is resolved by the House of Commons, that all persons guilty of notorious and scandalous offences shall be suspended fron the sacrament of the Lord's Supper: The House of Commons desires to be satisfied by the Assembly of Divines in these Questions following:

'I. Whether the Parochial and Congregational Elderships

was proposed that as the cause was God's they should begin by seeking His guidance with fasting and prayer. The suggestion was agreed to, and Wednesday in the following week was appointed to be observed as a day of humiliation, Messrs. Palmer, Whitaker, and Case being named to lead their devotions, and Messrs. Cawdry and Arrowsmith to preach. As I am not to make further

appointed by Ordinance of Parliament, or any other Congregational or Presbyterial Elderships, are *jure divino* and by the will and appointment of Jesus Christ, and whether any particular church-government be *jure divino;* and what that government is?

'II. Whether all the members of the said Elderships, as members thereof, or which of them, are *jure divino* and by the will and appointment of Jesus Christ?

'III. Whether the superior Assemblies or Elderships, viz., the Classical, Provincial, and National, whether all or any of them are *jure divino* and by the will and appointment of Jesus Christ?

'IV. Whether appeals from Congregational Elderships to the Classical, Provincial, and National Assemblies, or to any of them, and to which of them, are *jure divino* and by the will and appointment of Jesus Christ; and are their powers upon such appeals *jure divino* and by the will and appointment of Jesus Christ?

'V. Whether Œcumenical Assemblies are *jure divino;* and whether there be appeals from any of the former Assemblies to the said Œcumenical *jure divino* and by the will and appointment of Jesus Christ?

'VI. Whether by the Word of God the power of judging and declaring what are such notorious and scandalous offences for which persons guilty thereof are to be kept from the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and of conventing before them, trying, and actually suspending from the sacrament of the Lord's Supper such offenders accordingly, is either in the Congregational Eldership or Presbytery, or in any other Eldership, Congregation, or Persons; and whether such powers are in them only, or in any of them, and in which of them, *jure divino* and by the will and appointment of Jesus Christ?

'VII. Whether there be any certain and particular rules ex-

reference to the work of that day I must not omit to mention here that the notes taken by the scribe of Arrowsmith's sermon show it especially to have been worthy of the occasion and of his reputation as a preacher and a devoted Christian. It had probably been intended that this proposal should be made by Lord Warriston to give the bold Scottish lawyer an opportunity of replying to the speeches of the previous day, but coming in late and finding it already made, he seems to have

pressed in the Word of God to direct the Elderships or Presbyteries, Congregations or Persons, or any of them, in the exercise and execution of the powers aforesaid; and what are those rules?

'VIII. Is there anything contained in the Word of God, that the supreme Magistracy in a Christian State may not judge and determine what are the aforesaid notorious and scandalous offences, and the manner of suspension for the same: and in what particulars concerning the premises is the said supreme Magistracy by the Word of God excluded?

'IX. Whether the provision of Commissioners to judge of scandals not enumerated (as they are authorised by the Ordinance of Parliament) be contrary to that way of government which Christ hath appointed in His Church, and wherein are they so contrary?

'In answer to these particulars, the House of Commons desires of the Assembly of Divines their proofs from Scripture; and to set down the several texts of Scripture in the express words of the same. It is *Ordered* that every particular minister of the Assembly of Divines, that is or shall be at the debate of any of these Questions, do, upon every Resolution which shall be presented to this House concerning the same, subscribe his respective name, either with the affirmative or negative, as he gives his vote: And that those that do dissent from the major part shall set down their positive opinions, with the express texts of Scripture upon which their opinions are grounded.'—*Journals of House of Commons*, vol. iv. pp. 519, 520.

delivered as two speeches what he had written out and afterwards sent down to the Commissioners of the Assembly as one. This has been inserted in the records of the Commission of the Scotch Assembly, but has never been published save among the reports given in to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland in 1879, and as it gives a much clearer view of his argument than the desultory jottings of the scribe of the Assembly I subjoin it in a slightly abridged form :—

'MR. PROLOCUTOR,[1]—I am a stranger. I will not meddle with Parliament priviledges of another nation nor the breach thereof; but as a Christian under one common Lord, a ruling elder in another Church, and a Parliament man in another kingdome, having a commission both from that Church and State, and at the desire of this kingdome, assisting to your debates, I entreat for your favour and patience (seeing at all tymes I cannot attend this reverend meeting according to my desire) to express my thoughts of what is before you. In my judgment that is before you wch concerns Christ and these kingdoms most, and above all, and wch will be the chiefest mean to end or continew these troubles. . . . I can never be persuaded they were raised or will be calmed upon the settling of civil rights and priviledges either of King or Parliaments, whatsoever may seeme to be our present successe. But I am convinced they have a higher rise from above, for the highest end—the settling the crown of Christ in this island to be propagat[ed] from island to continent. Untill King Jesus be set down on his throne with his sceptre in his hand I do not expect God's peace, and so no solid peace from men in these kingdomes ;

[1] It is entitled in the records of the Commission 'Lord Warristoun's Speech to the Assembly of Divines in England in Answer to Sir John Evelyn and Nath[aniel] Fiennes, concerning the Breach of Priviledge.'

but that soveraigne truth being established a durable peace will be found to follow y^r^upon.'

'I was glade to hear the Parliament professe their willingnesse to receive and observe whatsoever shall be shewne from the Word of God to be Christ or his Church their right and due; albeit I wes sorrie to see any in the delyverie of [their message] to intermix any of y^r^ own personall asperity, any aspersion upon this assembly or reflection upon another nation; so I believe in this day of law for Christ in which justice is offered, if ye get not right it will be counted your fault, in not shewing His patent from His Father and His Church's patent from him. [Now they have laid it on your shoulders, it lies at your door.]

'Sir, all Christians are bound to give a testimony to everie truth when they ar called to it; but ye ar the immediat servants of the Most High—Christ's *precones* and heralds, whose propper function is to proclaim his name, preserve his offices, and assert his rights. Christ has had many testimonies given to his prophetical and priestly office by the pleading and suffering of his saincts; and in thir latter dayes he seems to require the samyne unto his kingly office. A king loves a testimony to his crowne best of any, as that wch is tenderest to him; and confessors or martyres for Christ's crowne ar the most royal and most stately of any state martyrs; for although Christ's kingdome be not of this world, and his servants did not fight therefor when he wes to suffer; yet it is in this world, and for this end was he born. And to this end that we may give a testimony to this truth amongst others were wee born; nor should we be ashamed of it or deny it but confesse and avouche it by pleading, doing and suffering for it, even in this generation, wch seems most to oppose it and y^r^by require a seasonable testimony. But in a peculiar way it lyeth upon you, sir, who hes both your calling from Christ for it and at this time a particular calling from man. It is that wch the hon^ble^ houses requires and expects from you especially at such a time when the settlement of religion depends y^r^upon, and when it is the verie controversie of the tyme τὸ κρινόμενον. And the civil magistrates not only call you before them to averre the truth

therein, but also to give you good examples, comes befor yow out of the tendernes of y^r^ civil trust and dutie to maintain the priviledge of Parliament by the covenant, and for respect to yow to give a testimony asserting of y^r^ civil ryghts and priviledge, and to forewarn you least yee break the samen and incurre civil *premoniries*. Sir, this should teach us to be as tender, zealous, and carefull to assert Christ and his Church their priviledge and right, and to forewarn all least they endanger y^r^ souls by incrotching y^r^upon, . . . that Christ lives and reigns alone over and in his Church, and will have all done therein according to his word and will, and that he hes given no supreme headship over his Church *to any pope, king, or parliament whatsoever*.

'Sir, ye are often desired to remember the bounds of your commission from man and not to exceed the samen; I am confident you will make as much conscience not to be deficient in the discharge of your commission from Christ. But now, Sir, ye have a commission from God and man (for the wch ye have reason to thank God and the Parliament) to discuss the truth that Christ is a king and hes a kingdome in the externall government of his church, and that he hes set doun the lawes and offices and other substantialls y^r^of. Wee must not now before men mince, hold up, conceal, prudentially waive anything necessary for this testimony, . . . nor quit a hoofe, or edge away an hemme of Christ's robe royal. These would seem effects of desertions, tokens of being ashamed, affrayed, or politikly diverted, yea *gradus denegationis Christi*, and all these and everie degree of them, sir, I am confident, will be verie farre from the thoughts of everie one heir, who already by their votes and petitions, according to y^r^ protestation at y^r^ entry, have shewn themselves so zealous and forward to give their testimony, albeit they did easily foresee it would not be verie acceptable to powers on the earth. . . .

'Truely, sir, I am confident ye will never be so in love with a peaceable and external possession of anything that may be granted to the Church as to conceale, disclaime, or intervert your Master's right. That were to lose the substance for the circumstance, to disserve and dethrone Christ to serve

yourselves and enthrone others in his place. A tennent doing so to his overlord forfaults all. Who speaks for civil liberties would never so undo them ; ye ar commandit to be faithful in little ; but now ye ar commandit to be faithful in much. For albeit the salvation of soules be called *cura curarum*, the wellfare and happiness of the Church made up of these is farre more. But the kingdome of Christ *est quid optimum maximum*, and to have it now under your debate, as it is the greatest honour God can bestow upon an assembly, so is it the greatest danger, for, according now as God shall assist you or desert you, ye may and will be the instruments of the greatest good or evil on earth. . . .

'Sir, some may think ye have had a designe in abstaining so long to assert the divine right of church-government, and now to come in with it. Truely, Sir, I look on this check as from ane good providence for your great sparingnes and absteinensies in that poynt, and must beare witness to many passages of God's good hand in not suffering us to make a stand of our desires concerning religion, either in Scotland or heir, albeit we have oft set downe measure to ourselves. But he hes as often moved us step for step to trace back our defections, and made the last innovation a besom to sweepe out the former, and the king's refusall to be a mean to engage us in covenant with himself and others. . . . By this good hand of God and for this end I hope these queries ar brought to you at this time.

'Sir, your serving the Parliament a while, I am confident hes bene and will be still, not that they may serve yow who hes *ministerium, a quo absit dominatus, sed cui adsit authoritas*, as over us in the Lord, but to serve the Lord Jesus Christ ; and that Parliament will glorie more in y^r^ subordination and subservience to him nor in their empire or command over the world.

'Sir, we may heare much of breache of priviledge and covenant in relation to civile rights. Let us remember in the covenant the three ends in the title and preface, three maine duties in the body, and the thrie effects in the close. The covenant begins with the advancement and ends with the enlargement of the kingdome of Christ as the sub-

stantiall and overword of the whole. The first article of the sevin is Christ's article, lyke *dies dominica* in the week, all the rest ar *in Domino*, and subordinat y^r^unto, and *subordinata non pugnant.* And certainlie so judicious and happy, so protesting, covenanting, declaring, so doing and suffering a Parliament, for rèformation will never claime anything as a civile priviledge or right wch ye will demonstrat to be proper to Christ's kingdome as distinct from the kingdomes of the earth. Christ's throne is highest, and his priviledge supreme as only head and king of his Church, albeit kings and magistrates may be members in it. There is no authority to be ballanced with his, nor post to be set up against his post, nor the altar of Damascus against his altar, nor strange fire against his fire, nor Corahs to be allowed against his Aarons, nor Uzziahs against his Azariahs. Is it so small a thing to have the sworde that they must have the keyes also? *Quæ Deus sejunxit homo ne jungat.* 'And truely, sir, I am confident that parliament, citty, country, both nations will acknowledge themselves engaged under and to this authority, and as they would not be drawn from it, so ye will never endeavour to draw us to any other authority; and whatsoever reflection to the contrary wes insinuat by the delyverer of the message, I cannot but imput it to personall passion, wch long ago is knowne to the world. But we will never beleeve the hon^ble^ house would allow therof, as farre beneath their wisdome and contrare to your merite.

'And now, sir, seeing the quæries ar before you, I am confident that whatsoever diversity of opinions may be amongst you in any particular, yee will all look to and hold out the maine, Christ's kingdome distinct from the kingdomes of this earth, and that he hes and might appoint the government of his own house and should rule the samen; and that none of this Assembly, even for the gaining their desires in all the poynts of difference, would by y^r^ silence, concealment, and connivance weaken, communicat, or sell any part of this fundamentall truth, this sovereign interest of Christ, and that ye will all concurre to demonstrate the samen by clear passages of Scripture, necessarie consequences y^r^fra, wch can

no more be denyed or esteemed cold nor the letter itself, and by the universall constant practice of the Apostles, wch ar as cleare rules unto us as any human lawes, inferences, and practises ar or can be brought for any civile priviledges.

'Sir, I will only close this by reminding yow of two passages of your letter, sent by order of the House of Commons to the Generall Assembly of the Church of Scotland, that ye will sett out such a discipline as to the utmost of your power ye may exalt Christ, the only Lord over the Church his own house, in all his offices, and present this church as a chast virgine to Christ. And for this end that ye were not restrained by the Houses in your votes and resolutions, nor bound up to the sense of others, nor to carry on privat designes in ane servile way; but by your oath new formed against all fettering of your judgments, and engaged y^r^by according to the Houses' desire, to use all freedome becoming the integrity of your conscience, weight of the cause, and the gravity and honour of such an Assembly.'

Heartened and cheered by the speech of Lord Warriston, and feeling they had a noble cause to maintain, the Assembly resolutely set themselves to their Herculean task, and for eight weeks they laboured at it zealously and uncomplainingly. Most of the replies had passed through the committees, and a considerable part through the Assembly, but, as had been anticipated by many, it proved to be a very tedious business and threatened to divert them too long from more pressing work. So when, through the mediation of the City, a better understanding had been restored between the House of Commons on the one side and the Assembly and the Scottish Commissioners on the other, and a third ordinance had been passed by

Parliament withdrawing the obnoxious Provincial Commissioners, and substituting in their room the Parliament itself or a grand committee of the two Houses, the London ministers, though not fully satisfied, consented to act under the Ordinance, and the Scotch Commissioners, while urging yet further concessions, agreed to refrain from insisting on them as a condition of continued amity. The House of Commons, whose members had all along protested that they were not opposed to godly discipline, but only wished it to be 'rightly jointed with the laws of the kingdom,' issued an order for hastening the Confession and Catechism, which was regarded as a warrant for postponing the other work. This work, however, there is reason to believe, was not lost, but supplemented and expanded by some of the London ministers, it made its appearance before the close of the year[1] in certain parts of the *Jus Divinum Regiminis Ecclesiastici*, much to the indignation of several members of the House of Commons. The answers to the queries were, with consent of the House, resumed by the Assembly in 1648 after it had finished its Confession and Catechisms, and had no other special work to do. But the minutes after that date are so brief that only a few entries are made on the subject, and we do not know if the work was ever formally completed. The final Ordinance of Parliament on

[1] Answers to the queries had appeared in June 1646.

church-government, embodying and supplementing or making permanent the former ones, still contained the clause authorising appeals from the Church courts to Parliament, but I have found no evidence that any such appeal was ever made. The London ministers in fact, in agreeing to organise under the Ordinances of 6th June 1646, had published their resolution 'to practise in all things according to the rule of the Word, and according to these Ordinances so far as they conceive them to correspond to it, and in so doing they trust they shall not grieve the spirit of the truly godly, nor give any just occasion to them that are contrary minded to blame' their proceedings.[1]

It was during these anxious months in the spring and early summer of 1646 that those far-famed debates on the independent government of the Church took place which are recorded at considerable length in the Minutes of the Assembly.[2] The proposition 'That Jesus Christ as King and Head of His Church, hath appointed an ecclesiastical government in His Church distinct from the civil government,' was first tabled for discussion on Friday 6th March 1645-6, while the Ordinance for Provincial Commissioners was being elaborated in the Houses. It does not seem to have formed

[1] *Considerations and Cautions* from Zion College, 19 June 1646.
[2] See *Minutes of the Assembly*, pp. 193-203, 424-432.

part of the original report on the Church, as it had been brought up on Thursday, and Coleman, before opening the discussion on the following Monday, 'moved to pass the proposition brought in by the Committee which would pass without any question,' and once again in the course of the debate he renewed his proposal. But it was not agreed to by the Assembly. So with all the zest of a keen and practised debater he set himself to the discussion of the proofs adduced in support of the proposition, and for several days bore the brunt of the battle almost single-handed. The arguments were based chiefly on Matt. xviii. and 1 Cor. v., and were proposed in syllogistic form, and long and tough were the encounters between him on the one side and Rutherfurd and Gillespie on the other. Others spoke occasionally and briefly, but these were the combatants in chief, and on them all eyes were fixed. At length, on the 18th, when the Assembly called to the order of the day, Mr. Coleman was not present to continue the debate, but some members of the House of Commons, who were desirous to elicit further explanations from the Divines, continued it for a time, and it was again adjourned. Next day it was reported that Mr. Coleman was ill, and two of the members were deputed to visit him. The following day one of these reported that he had fulfilled his commission, and found that Mr. Coleman was very ill, but

returned his thanks to the Assembly for their kind inquiries, and expressed his desire to be further heard in the argument, and to have the debate adjourned till he was able to return. They complied so far with the request of their dying brother, and it was not till, on 30th of March, they had followed his body to the grave that they resumed the debate. It was carried on more languidly by Lightfoot and some members of the House of Commons throughout the month of April, and then was merged in the wider debate raised by the queries of the Commons. After further discussion, the proposition was on 7th July passed as part of the answer to the first query, fifty-two voting for it, and Lightfoot alone against it. On 26th September it was with some slight verbal changes passed as the first section of chapter xxx. of their Confession. That chapter was not passed by the House of Commons, nor does it have a place in the Independent or the Baptist recension of the Confession. But it is retained by all the Presbyterian churches which receive the Confession as it came from the Assembly, and is held in honour by them.

Thus, through calm and storm, in sunshine and in shade, the Divines held on the even tenor of their way, and whatever may have been intended by some 'who were not overloving of any, least of all of these clergymen,' they were not in point of fact brought into disgrace or discredit at the time,

nor have they been so subsequently on account of their firm but dignified and respectful protest against the Erastianism of so large a section of the House of Commons.

Before these debates came to a close, the first civil war had virtually ended. The relief of Gloucester (p. 178) was, according to Mr. Green, the turning-point in the struggle, and, though after that occasional blinks of sunshine came to raise the sinking spirits of the Cavaliers, things on the whole went steadily if slowly against them. The victory of Marston Moor broke their power in Yorkshire, that of Philiphaugh crushed Montrose in Scotland, and that of Naseby did the same for the King and Prince Rupert in the heart of England. As the Parliamentary forces prepared to close round Oxford, the king escaped to the Scottish army before Newark, and on the surrender of that place retired with them to Newcastle. There one more earnest and prolonged attempt was made to bring him to terms. Henderson wore out his sinking strength in the thankless service. He and Blair, with the nobles and officers, besought the infatuated monarch, with tears, to yield to the wishes of his people. But all was in vain, and with sore hearts and sad misgivings they left him in the hands of the English Commissioners, and took their departure from a land where they were no longer welcome guests.

LECTURE X.

THE WESTMINSTER CONFESSION OF FAITH OR ARTICLES OF CHRISTIAN RELIGION.

Part I.—Introductory history of doctrine, and detailed account of the preparation of the Confession.

IN my last Lecture I gave you a full account of the controversies on the autonomy of the Church, which engaged the attention of the Assembly in 1646, and interrupted for a time the preparation of its doctrinal standards. In to-day's Lecture I shall endeavour to give a succinct account of the preparation of that Confession of Faith which is regarded in most Presbyterian Churches as the principal, and in some as the sole doctrinal standard. As I promised in a former lecture (p. 54), however, I must first advert to the previous history of doctrine in the British Churches. I have already explained that the differences between the Puritans[1] and their opponents at first seemed

[1] 'Albeit the Puritans disquieted our Church about their conceived discipline, yet they never moved any quarrel against the doctrine of our Church. . . It was then the open confession, both of the

to be few in number, and of minor importance, just because so much of what afterwards came to be named puritanic was then accepted and valued by almost all who favoured the principles of the Reformation. I stated that this was especially the case with respect to that system of doctrine known as Augustinian or Calvinistic, the holders of which, by the time of Archbishop Laud, had come to be nicknamed doctrinal Puritans. As the movement which culminated in the Westminster Assembly was designed above all to be a protest against the misrepresentation this involved, and if possible to restore Augustinianism and the theology of the English reformation to its old place of honour in the Church, I must now revert to this subject, and give at least a brief outline of the history of this theology in the British Churches.

There was perhaps no branch of the mediæval Church where the system of doctrine developed by Augustine had so unquestionably retained its old supremacy to the last as the Anglo-Norman. The system of its greatest theologians, Anselm and Bradwardine, appropriated by Wyclif and the Lollards, continued or revived by Tyndale, Frith, Barnes, and their coadjutors, may be said to

Bishops and of the Puritans, that both parties embraced a mutual consent in doctrine.'—Bishop Carleton's *Examination of Bishop Montague's Appeal*, p. 5.

have formed the substratum of the Reformed teaching, even while it was least affected by influences from abroad. Such influences, however, were early brought to bear on that teaching, and it has long seemed to me that the effect of these upon it, and their ready assimilation, were largely due to the hold Augustinianism had already gained, that it was through the teaching of Anselm, Bradwardine, Wyclif, and Tyndale, rather than from 'fascination of the calm, clear intellect of Calvin,' they were first attracted towards him and the later predestinarian school. With the full sanction of Cranmer and the Privy Council of Edward VI., Martin Bucer and Peter Martyr were in 1548 invited to England, and soon after their arrival were installed as professors or lecturers in divinity in the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford, to imbue with the theology of the Reformation the future ministers of the English Church. Their published commentaries on the Ephesians and the Romans embody the substance of the lectures they delivered in the years 1550 and 1551, and show clearly that their teaching on predestination and other related subjects was in thorough accordance with that of Augustine and Anselm, as well as with that of Calvin. The following is Bucer's definition of election :—'Est itaque electio destinatio et certa Dei miseratio ab æterno ante mundum constitutum, qua Deus eos, quorum vult

misereri, ex universo perditorum hominum genere ad vitam æternam secernit, ex plane liberali misericordia, priusquam quicquam possint boni aut mali facere. Certa, inquam, est et immutabilis, per Jesum Christum unigenitum filium Dei et nostrum mediatorem, ab æterno destinatum caput ecclesiæ ac reconciliatorem, secundum æternum et immutabile propositum suum, ut nos adoptaret in filios et hæredes et in novam vitam regeneraret, ut sancti essemus et irreprehensibiles coram ipso ad gloriam gratiæ suæ.'[1] Martyr's definition is :— 'Dico igitur prædestinationem esse sapientissimum propositum Dei, quo ante omnem æternitatem decrevit constanter, eos, quos dilexit in Christo, vocare ad adoptionem filiorum, ad justificationem ex fide et tandem ad gloriam per bona opera, quo conformes fiant imagini Filii Dei, utque in illis declaretur gloria et misericordia Creatoris.'[2] Noteworthy as these definitions are when viewed by themselves, they are still more noteworthy when we view them in connection with the XVIIth of the Edwardian Articles which were drawn up about the same time. Had we known no more

[1] Praelectiones. . . D. Martini Buceri habitæ Cantabridgiæ in Anglia, anno 1550 et 1551, pp. 22, 23.

[2] In Epistolam S. Pauli Apostoli ad Romanos D. Petri Martyris commentarii, p. 411, folio edition, 1558. The work was not published till after he left England, but we learn from the preface that it had been written out by 1552, and the *schedæ* circulated among his friends there, and from his letters we learn it was ready for publication when he left in 1553.

than that these two divines were held in high regard by Cranmer and the advisers of the king, and were consulted by them on the revision of the liturgy, we would have known enough to warrant us carefully to compare their teaching with that of this Article, to ascertain whether the one was not to a certain extent reflected in the other, and calculated to aid us in tracing its sources and character. But we know further, that after the death of Bucer, Martyr continued to be consulted and cherished by the Primate, and have positive testimony that he was one of those associated with him, not only in the commission of thirty-two for the reformation of the ecclesiastical laws, but also in some smaller committee[1] (of that commission, or of Convocation) which was occupied especially with purity of doctrine. He paid repeated and lengthened visits to Lambeth in the fall of the year 1551 and the spring of 1552, on the business of that committee, and his friend and amanuensis, John ab Ulmis, had in 1550 translated from German into Latin, for the

[1] 'The Convocation began to be held . . . on the 12th of December by most excellent and learned men who are to deliberate and consult about a proper moral discipline, and the *purity of doctrine.* The Archbishop of Canterbury, and Peter Martyr, the Archbishop of York, and the Bishop of London, together with the newly appointed Chancellor of England . . . Bishop of Ely and our friend Skinner . . . are to form a select committee on these points.'—John ab Ulmis to Bullinger, in *Original Letters relating to the Reformation*, Parker Society edition, pp. 444, 503.

Primate, the Confession of Strasburg.[1] He was named by Cranmer in 1553 in his *Purgation*[2] as one with whose help he would be ready to defend 'all the doctrine' set forth in the reign of Edward VI.; and still later he seems to be referred to by the Archbishop in his final examination as one whose advice he had taken about the Articles.[3] We feel, therefore, not merely warranted, but even bound to compare them with his doctrinal teaching ere we venture, with any approach to confidence, to pronounce on the sources from which they have been taken, or the exact shade of meaning they were meant to convey. I have given above the definition of predestination by Martyr as it is

[1] John ab Ulmis, *Original Letters*, Parker Soc. ed., p. 404.

[2] 'I with the said Master Peter Martyr and other four or five, which I shall choose, will by God's grace take upon us to defend not only the common prayers of the Church, the ministration of the sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies, but also all the doctrine and religion set out by our sovereign lord King Edward the Sixth.'—Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, vol. vi. p. 539.

[3] Foxe (viii. p. 58) represents Cranmer as saying that 'as for the catechism and the book of articles . . . he granted the same to be his doings,' but the formal *Processus contra Thomam Cranmer* (Works, Parker Society's edition, vol. ii. p. 545), gives a very different representation: 'Ad septimum fatetur se edidisse librum . . . *A defence of the true and Catholic faith*, etc.—et negat se edidisse librum, in eodem articulo etiam mentionatum, vocatum—*A discourse of Peter Martyr*—et quoad tertium librum vocatum, *A discourse of the Lord's Supper* [by Peter Martyr] negat se illum edidisse, tamen credit hujusmodi liber est bonus et catholicus, et quoad catechismum et articulos in eodem fatetur se adhibuisse *ejus* consilium circa editionem ejusdem.' The word *ejus* can refer only to Martyr. Archdeacon Hardwick, by quoting merely the last clause, has failed to bring out this, though correcting Foxe.

exhibited on p. 411 of the folio edition of his Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans. Let me now place this opposite to the first part of the Edwardian Article, inserting here and there within brackets the analogous phrases which Martyr uses when more fully explaining his definition, that it may be seen how very closely his ideas and modes of expression appear to be reproduced in the Latin form of that Article :—

MARTYR'S DEFINITION.	LATIN ARTICLE OF 1553.
Dico igitur prædestinationem esse sapientissimum propositum Dei, quo ante omnem æternitatem (*ante jacta fundamenta mundi*, 411) decrevit constanter (*suo consilio licet nobis occulto*, 459) eos quos dilexit in Christo (*a calamitate liberare*, 431 [atque ut] *vasa in honorem facta*, 428) ad felicitatem (*æternam salutem*, 433) per Christum adducere, 431.	Prædestinatio ad vitam est æternum Dei propositum, quo ante jacta mundi fundamenta, suo consilio, nobis quidem occulto, constanter decrevit eos quos [ ] elegit ex hominum genere, a maledicto et exitio liberare, atque ut vasa in honorem efficta, per Christum ad æternam salutem adducere.
(*tanto Dei beneficio*, 344, *donatos*, 343) vocare ad adoptionem filiorum (*justo tempore*, 473) (*vocatione*, quam Augustinus ex Pauli phrasi vocat, *secundum propositum*, 426) ad justificationem ex fide (*gratis* per Christum *justificare* ut *efficiantur conformes imagini*	Unde qui tam præclaro beneficio sunt donati, illi Spiritu ejus opportuno tempore operante, secundum propositum ejus vocantur, vocationi per gratiam parent (credunt A) justificantur gratis, adoptantur in filios unigeniti Jesu Christi imagini efficiuntur conformes, in bonis operibus

filii Dei, ... utque *ambulent in bonis operibus*, 421, utque in illis declaretur gloria et *misericordia* Creatoris, (*ad vitam æternam* (*æternam felicitatem*, 431) *electos adducit*, 434.)

sancte ambulant, et demum ex Dei misericordia pertingunt ad sempiternam felicitatem.

The definition of Martyr is more brief than that of the Articles, but even so it contains the words *in Christo*, which were only inserted in the Article in 1563, and are generally to be found in the Reformed Confessions. It is only when we take account of the analogous phrases in which Martyr explains his definition, that the full coincidence in meaning and phraseology between him and the Article is brought out. In fact, there are but two phrases wanting to make the verbal parallel complete, and they are both found in the definition of Bucer: *ex universo perditorum hominum genere*, and *unigeniti filii*.

The parallel, therefore, so far as the positive statement of doctrine is concerned, is complete, and whatever wider meaning we may deem ourselves warranted to read into the Article, we can never surely be warranted to exclude that which Martyr held and meant to teach. Even the subsequent part of the Article is far more nearly in verbal agreement with his teaching than with that of any other. There is no such resemblance to the phraseology and teaching of Melanchthon

after he ceased to be an Augustinian and became a Synergist. There is in a few instances, as Dr. Burton (Bishop Short's *History*, p. 487) had pointed out, a verbal coincidence with the phraseology and teaching of Luther in his treatise on the Epistle to the Romans. But that treatise was written while both Luther and Melanchthon were Augustinians, and teaches distinctly Augustinian doctrine; and as it was never formally disavowed by Luther, there was considerable temptation to those who maintained that doctrine to use the testimony of the master against his disciples. Still, however, in this second part of the Article, as in the first, the resemblance to the teaching of Martyr is closer.

I insert below these further coincidences, as also a few between the phraseology of Calvin in the 1543 edition of his *Institutions*, and the concluding part of the Article, because it comes so close to that of the Article and of Luther. Some suppose that part was inconsistent with his doctrine, but if so, neither he nor the Westminster divines seem to have been aware of the inconsistency :—

Non igitur ad desperationem adigimur hac doctrina sed multo potius magnam ex ea consolationem accipimus (407). De perseverantia nullo modo dubitandum est, et præsertim cum in cordibus nostris habemus Spiritum Sanctum nobis ferentem præ-

Quemadmodum prædestinationis et electionis nostræ in Christo pia consideratio, dulcis, suavis et ineffabilis consolationis plena est vere piis, et his qui sentiunt in se vim Spiritus Christi facta carnis et membra quæ adhuc sunt super terram, mortifi-

clarum de ea testimonium (124). Habent enim Spiritum Christi quo et vivunt et . . . mortificant facta carnis (*in præfatione*). Dei Spiritus qui datur piis . . . miram consolationem his affert quos afflaverit (electis *in margine*) (476).

Cum scribit de prædestinatione eo semper spectat ut nostram fiduciam confirmet (419) (ad stabiliendam fiduciam *Cal.* 361). Qui in animo vere sentiat se gratis a Deo electum esse propter Christum . . . mirabiliter haud dubie accendetur ad Deum redamandum (419). Curiosuli illi habenis coercendi sunt qui antequam Christum . . . discant abyssum illam prædestinationis scrutantur, et num prædestinati sint necne frustra investigant. Nam hi haud dubie in confusionem conscientiæ aut desperationem suâ hac inepta curiositate ducent et præcipitabunt seipsos.—Lutherus *in Ep. ad Romanos.* Traduntur Satanæ decipiendi et præcipitandi (475).—Martyr.

cantem, animumque ad celestia et superna rapientem, tum quia fidem nostram de æternâ salute consequendâ per Christum, plurimum stabilit atque confirmat, tum quia amorem nostrum in Deum vehementer accendit. —ARTICULUS XVII.

Ubi crucem et tribulationem expertus fueris; tum primum dulcescet necessitas hæc prædestinationis, tum primum senties . . . quam plena consolationis sit prædestinatio.—Lutherus *in Ep. ad Romanos.*

Ita hominibus curiosis, carnalibus et Spiritu Christi destitutis, ob oculos perpetuo versari prædestinationis Dei sententiam, perniciosissimum est præcipitium, unde illos diabolus protrudit vel in desperationem vel in æque perniciosam impurissimæ vitæ securitatem.—ART. XVII.

Quemadmodum in exitialem abyssum se ingurgitant, (in ultimum mortis præcipitium ruunt, (364) in majorem hebetudinem truduntur, (366) solutam carnis securitatem, (363)

quasi desperata nequitia volutabuntur in flagitia (365) qui ut de suâ electione fiant certiores, æternum Dei consilium, sine verbo, percontantur: ita qui recte atque ordine eam investigant, qualiter in verbo continetur eximium inde referunt consolationis fructum (Calv. *Inst.* 361).

Hic docere oportet, fidelium esse promissiones Dei generaliter accipere, ut nobis in sacris literis a Spiritu Sancto traditæ sunt, neque oportere de arcana Dei voluntate esse solicitos (Martyr, p. 194). Ut cum aliquid velint suscipere, consilium . . . ex voluntate Dei revelata, *i.e.* e sacra scriptura petant, non autem ex arcano divinæ prædestinationis (p. 422).

In rebus agendis ea est nobis perspicienda voluntas quam verbo suo declarat. Id requirit unum Deus a nobis quod præcipit (Calv. 370).

. Deinde, licet prædestinationis decreta sunt nobis ignota, promissiones tamen divinas sic amplecti oportet, ut nobis in sacris literis generaliter propositæ sunt; et Dei voluntas in nostris actionibus ea sequenda est, quam in verbo Dei habemus revelatam.—ART. XVII.

The resemblances between the Anglican formulary and the Augsburg and Würtemberg Confessions arose in part out of earlier historical relations. But all of them, as a matter of fact, occur in Articles which were held in common by the Lutherans and the Reformed. Martyr had signed the Augsburg Confession when at Strasburg, and was ready to do so on his return, while some of his colleagues who remained did not object to sign the Confession of Würtemberg. But neither of these, nor any other of the early

Lutheran Confessions, as Dorner admits, has an Article on Predestination. By the insertion of such an Article, as well as by the terms in which they expressed it, the English Reformers must be regarded as indicating their leaning towards the Reformed rather than the Lutheran Churches. The same leaning is clearly apparent in the group of Articles on the sacraments, and especially in the one on the Lord's Supper. This last, in the form in which it was set forth in 1553, shows verbal coincidences not only with Martyr's writings but also with the *Formula Consensus Tigurini*,[1] copies of which had been sent into England by Bullinger soon after it was framed.

Few Continental authors were during the long reign of Elizabeth more highly esteemed or more widely read in England than Calvin, Bullinger, and Martyr. The *Institutions* of Calvin were used as a text-book in the universities, and they and several of his commentaries were translated into English. The Decades or sermons of Bullinger were commended by Convocation to the study of the clergy, and were also translated. The voluminous *Loci Communes* of Martyr were published in London as well as on the Continent, and he was repeatedly and earnestly invited to return to his former chair. In a word, the leading bishops and theologians of that reign drew more closely to the

[1] For particulars see Appendix, Note M.

Reformed than to the Lutheran Churches.[1] Even those of them who, like Cranmer and Ridley in the earlier time, were very mild Augustinians themselves agreed more with the teaching of the Reformed than of the Lutheran doctors on the few subjects on which there was difference between them, though the distinct testimony against the ubiquity of Christ's human nature was withdrawn from the Articles of 1563. Becon, Jewel, Nowell, Sandys, Pilkington, as well as Humphreys, Sampson, and Foxe, were certainly more pronounced Augustinians, and, notwithstanding assertions to the contrary, did mention election for other purposes than to warn people against trusting in it;[2] and their teaching supplies us with the first and perhaps fairest commentary on the meaning of the XVIIth Article ere differences of opinion had arisen respecting it. Whitgift, Hutton, Overall, Cartwright, Whitaker, Reynolds, and many of the bishops and theologians in the reign of Elizabeth's successor, held and taught the same Augustinian doctrines. It was towards the close of her reign, about the year 1595, that we first hear

[1] 'I am well assured that the learned bishops who were in the reformation of our Church in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign did so much honour St. Augustine that in the collecting of the Articles and Homilies and other things in that reformation, they had an especial respect unto St. Augustine's doctrines.'—Bishop Carleton's *Examination*, p. 49.

[2] See especially Sandys' *Sermons*, p. 190; Pilkington's *Works*, p. 673; and Jewel's *Commentary* on 1 Thess. i. 4, 5 and ii. 13.

of the distinct enunciation of opposite views in the University of Cambridge by Barret, a Fellow of Gonville and Caius College, who is said soon after to have turned Papist, and Dr. Baro, a Frenchman who had long been Margaret Professor of Divinity, and had previously given utterance to sentiments on other topics which were deemed not to be in strict harmony with the predominant opinions. To quiet the disturbances thus occasioned Archbishop Whitgift, with the approval of the Archbishop of York and some other prelates, drew up (or accepted, with a few changes as drawn up by another), and sent down to the University a series of Articles, henceforth to be known as the Lambeth Articles, which were not only predestinarian in tendency but more strongly so than would be relished by moderate Calvinists still. The Articles were not indeed confirmed by royal authority, but they were acted on by the authorities of the University, and at any rate they are of value as a distinct testimony to the views of their framers and as a clear indication of the opinions on these abstruse subjects which were then widely prevalent in the Church. Dr. Reynolds asked at the Hampton Court Conference that these 'orthodoxal assertions' should be added to the Articles not as altering their meaning but simply as more clearly expressing it. This was not granted, his Majesty deeming it better 'not to stuff the book [of the

Articles] with all conclusions theological,' but 'to punish the broachers of false doctrine as occasion should be offered, for were the Articles never so many and sound, who can prevent the contrary opinions of men till they be heard?' Overall, the Dean of St. Paul's, expressed himself in substantial agreement with Dr. Reynolds as to the meaning of the XVIth and XVIIth Articles, and the King also made more than one 'speech of predestination and reprobation,' in the course of which he admitted that predestination and election depended 'not upon any qualities, actions, or works of man *which be mutable*, but upon *God's eternal and immutable decree and purpose*.' So much we learn from Barlow's *Sum of the Conference* (p. 43). From Bishop Carleton's Examination of Bishop Montague's notorious *Appeal unto Cæsar* (p. 94), we further learn: 'The plain truth is that Dr. Reynolds repeated the Article, and professed that the meaning of the Article was sound.' He only desired that to the end of the clause 'we may depart from grace' the words 'yet not totally nor finally' might be added. 'Against this no man spake then; but for it. . . . Dr. Overall did speak so much as directly confirmed that which Dr. Reynolds had moved, . . . adding hereunto that those who were called and justified according to the purpose of God's election, however they might and did fall into grievous sins, . . . yet did never

fall either totally from all graces of God to be utterly destitute of all the parts and seed thereof, nor finally from justification.'

What had been refused to the Puritans in 1603 was granted to the Irish Convocation in 1615. It was allowed to incorporate the Lambeth Articles among those fuller Augustinian Articles, which, with the sanction of the Viceroy, it then adopted and enjoined to be subscribed by all preachers as articles not to be contradicted by them in their public teaching. In 1618, when deputies were, with the approval of Archbishop Abbot, sent by King James to the Synod of Dort, it is said that they took these Lambeth Articles with them to the Synod as evidence of the faith professed in England. The deputies, who were all men of high standing[1] in the Church, took an active part in the proceedings of the Synod, acquiesced in the condemnation of the Arminians, and in the various papers drafted by them gave representations of the doctrine of their Church which would have been quite unwarrantable if the prevailing interpretation of her Articles down to that date had not been decidedly Augustinian. The most notable of the divines who in the later years of Queen Elizabeth's reign defended the constitution of the English Church so resolutely against the assaults of the

[1] Bishop Carleton, Drs. Goad, Ward, Davenant, and Hall, with Dr. Balcanquhal for Scotland.

more decided Puritans, held to the Augustinian system of doctrine, as Archbishop Whitgift, Richard Hooker, and Thomas Rogers. The last named was chaplain to Whitgift's successor, and, so far as I know, the first to publish a formal exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles, under the title of *The Catholic Doctrine of the Church of England.* This treatise, dedicated first to Whitgift and then to Bancroft, was well known to Toplady, though ignored by recent expositors. It passed unchallenged through several editions, and affords conclusive evidence that, till near the close of James's reign, the Augustinian interpretation of them was the prevailing one.

Even in 1626 Bishop Carleton resolutely claimed that it had been so, and reproved Bishop Montague for reviving the doctrines of Barret and Baro, and venturing to speak of those who maintained the doctrines of the Lambeth Articles as Puritans. Ussher, Downame, Davenant, and Hall were all in accord with Carleton. But the fashion then begun soon spread rapidly. Nominally to hold the balance even between the contending parties, but really, as was alleged by the predestinarian school, to impede and silence them while almost openly favouring their opponents, a royal declaration was prefixed to the Articles prohibiting the imposing any other than the grammatical sense on them, or preaching on the controverted topics. 'Then began

that wonderful decade which, regard it as we may, was in truth a period almost equally exceptional with that which followed under the Commonwealth. It was not indeed a government without church and king, but it was a government of a king without a parliament, and of a church in which all doctrines except those of the dominant party were proscribed and silenced by the strong hand —a virtual tyranny under honoured forms and names.' 'The system made its way very rapidly among University men and with a section of the upper classes generally; two of its most prominent tenets, viz., the divine right of kings and the divine right of bishops, expressed concurrently and with every conceivable form of argument, forcibly commended the rest of the doctrine to the pedant king and his courtiers, and it came to be identified almost from its commencement with the political repression of the popular liberties, the suspension of Parliaments, and the disgrace of the country at home and abroad.'[1] In the eyes of its supporters it was a revulsion from what their successors in our own time have nicknamed Ultra-Protestantism—not an exchange of modern Calvinism for the more modern Arminianism, but a return to the theology of the Greek Fathers in preference to that of Augustine, the great doctor of the West.

[1] Introduction to *Register of Visitors of the University of Oxford*, from A.D. 1647 to A.D. 1658, pp. xx., xxiv.

Down to the time of Archbishop Laud there had been almost a continuous succession of Augustinian Professors of Divinity in the Universities[1]—Humphrey, Holland, Walward, Reynolds, Abbot, Prideaux, at Oxford; Whitgift, Cartwright, Hutton, Overall, Whitaker, Davenant, and Ward at Cambridge; and Travers, Ussher, and Hoyle at Dublin. Besides these there was a whole host of men who preached the same theology from the pulpits or expounded it through the press. Foreign theologians, even of extensive learning and high repute, almost, with the single exception of Heppe, seem to think that through all this time the divines of Britain were doing nothing for their science, either in their own country or on the Continent. There could not be a greater mistake. Just because it was a time of considerable restraint, it was a time of earnest study and of great literary activity, and was singularly fruitful not only in catechisms and other popular works intended to convey much prized truth to the humblest who could read, but also in more learned treatises, which, though now much forgotten, were in their own day highly

[1] 'Calvin's enormous influence was felt quite as much within the Church as without it, and indeed the idea of separation was not as yet entertained by any large body of men. It was not till the fatal violence of the Laudian School had been fully developed, that separation began to present itself as a serious duty to masses of churchmen, and nonconformity or dissent, as we now know it, to have a history.'—Introduction to *Register of Visitors of the University of Oxford*, p. xvii.

valued by the learned in Holland as well as in England—quite as much so perhaps as the writings of any contemporary continental authors. Questions in controversy with the Romanists were discussed by Fulke, Whitaker, Cartwright, and Reynolds with a thoroughness and learning which were not excelled, perhaps not equalled, abroad. Commentaries on separate books of Scripture, both more systematic and more practical, were issued in great abundance, and some of them were even translated into Latin and printed on the Continent. The doctrine of the Covenants was developed in this country quite as much as in Holland, particularly in its historical aspect as bearing on the progress of God's revelation to mankind, and it was generally combined with the more liberal Augustinian views of Davenant. Learned and exhaustive treatises were written in defence of the great Protestant doctrines of the supremacy of Scripture and of justification by faith, the formal and material principles of the Reformation, while the writings of Perkins, Davenant, Ussher, Amesius, and Twisse, on the more abstruse doctrines of the Augustinian system, were not less thorough nor less highly valued abroad than at home. Twisse as well as Amesius was invited to occupy a chair in Holland, and for his defence of the Augustinian and reformed teaching against the *scientia media* of the Jesuits, Bishop Hall characterised him as 'a

man so eminent in school divinity that the Jesuits have felt, and for aught I see, shrunk under his strength.'

Hoyle, Tuckney, and Arrowsmith, who, after the reformation of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, became Professors of Divinity there, served themselves heirs to their Augustinian predecessors, and professed their determination to teach on the same lines, so that, as a modern historian has expressed it, 'they deemed their mission to be to restore and confirm, not to revolutionise.' To a large proportion of those university men into whose hands the task was committed, we are told by the present Chichele Professor of History, in his able and impartial introduction to *The Register of the Parliamentary Visitation*, lately printed for the Camden Society, 'this government on so-called Puritanical principles appeared very much in the light of a return to better days which had passed away not so very long before, . . . a natural reaction, though perhaps carried too far, from an extreme direction into which the course of their beloved University had been betrayed, a recovery from a disease which, during the process of recovery, must necessarily exhibit some abnormal symptoms.' As Dr. Arrowsmith, in his introductory lecture at Cambridge, professed himself an admiring pupil of Davenant, and sought to link on his teaching to that of his great predecessors, so

Dr. Hoyle 'devoted a large part of his inaugural lecture at Oxford to the earnest commendation of Bishop Prideaux, and Dr. Conant, who succeeded him, was avowedly of Prideaux's school on all essential points' (pp. xxix., xxx.).

Turning now to our own part of Britain, let me endeavour as succinctly as possible to trace the development of theology in Scotland. So far as we had a theology before the Reformation, it was probably less pronouncedly Augustinian than that of the southern division of the island. No doubt there were in the Augustinian and Dominican monasteries not a few who clung to the teaching of the great doctor of the West, and ultimately found a congenial home in the Reformed Church. There are not wanting some traces of the same teaching in the one catechism the pre-reformation Church of Scotland ventured to issue. The works of St. Thomas Aquinas were, by the Council of 1549, recommended to the students and teachers of speculative theology, but it could not be that those of his rival should be altogether neglected in the land of his birth. John Major, its most distinguished theological teacher in the first half of the sixteenth century, if one may venture to express an opinion from a cursory examination of his commentaries on the Gospels, appears to have far more in common with Scotus than with Aquinas or Augustine. But among those who

favoured the Reformation, the tendency was decidedly in the opposite direction. It has been said, indeed, that our earliest Protestant theology was 'of the milder Lutheran type.' But at the time when Patrick Hamilton was brought into contact with it, Lutheranism was not yet of the milder type it ultimately assumed. Luther and Melanchthon were at that date predestinarians and pronounced Augustinians; and Tyndale, Frith, and Lambert, with whom during his stay at Marburg, Hamilton had held familiar intercourse, were also decided adherents of the same school of theological thought. Those with whom Wishart was brought into contact in Switzerland and Strasburg belonged to the same school, and he told his countrymen, when he translated for their use the earlier Helvetic Confession, that it was in the Church of Switzerland that 'all godliness is received, and the word had in most reverence.' The position of Knox, Winram, and their coadjutors is sufficiently determined by the fact that the several confessions they composed or sanctioned were all of the Calvinistic type, and in part were borrowed from the earlier editions of the *Institutes* of Calvin, or from the confessions drawn up by him.[1] It is also conclusively determined by the fact that in 1566, at the request of Beza, they gave their approbation to the later Helvetic Confession, to testify their

[1] *British and Foreign Evangelical Review* for 1872, pp. 92-95.

agreement in doctrine and polity with the Reformed Churches on the Continent who adhered to the teaching of Calvin and Bullinger. From the pen of our great Reformer we have a treatise 'Of Predestination,' and a preface to a treatise by his friend Balnaves on justification, and both treatises are in harmony with the teaching of the Genevan school. The most eminent of the early theological teachers of the Reformed Church of Scotland was undoubtedly Andrew Melville, who was successively Principal of the College of Glasgow and of St. Mary's College, St. Andrews. From his known temperament, it might have been supposed that he would have taken up an extreme position in regard to the distinctive teaching of the school to which he belonged. But from his commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, it appears that his views on the mysterious subject of predestination were, like his views on justification, of a more moderate type than those of Beza. He seems to have imbued his more distinguished pupils to a large extent with his own infralapsarian views. Robert Bruce, to whom the more zealous section of them looked up with reverence and affection, certainly held and taught the same type of doctrine as his teacher. Principal Rollock, of Edinburgh, the leader of the more compliant section, did the same. His commentaries were published, some of them repeatedly, on the Continent as well

as in his own country, and his views on the subject of the covenants and of justification appear to agree generally with those of the Herborne school. Robert Howie, who succeeded Andrew Melville in St. Mary's College, as his early and close connections with the liberal theologians of Herborne and Basle leads one to expect, belonged to the same infralapsarian school. Several of his theological tractates were published at Basle—the most important being that *De reconciliatione hominis cum Deo.* He was largely consulted in the preparation of that Confession of Faith by which, in 1616, it appears to have been intended to supersede both the Confession of 1560, and the so-called negative Confession of 1581. Melville, before he was translated to St. Andrews, taught theology in Glasgow, and was succeeded in his office there by Principal Smeton, a man almost as learned and quite as moderate in his views—to whom we are indebted for a brief but able defence of the Protestant idea of the Church and a vindication of the personal character of Knox, in reply to the bitter and one-sided treatise of Archibald Hamilton, *De confusione Calvinianæ Sectæ.* Smeton was succeeded in 1585 by Patrick Scharpe, and he, in 1615, by Robert Boyd, who had taught in France, and was the author of a learned commentary on the Epistle to the Ephesians, in which predestinarian views are clearly

enunciated, and Augustine, Ambrose, Prosper, Fulgentius, and Bernard are more frequently appealed to than Calvin and the Reformers. Boyd, on his translation to Edinburgh, was succeeded by John Cameron, the Camero of the Continent, who was born in the Saltmarket; was first a regent at Glasgow, then at Sedan; then, along with his countryman Primrose, pastor of the Church at Bordeaux; after that a Professor of Theology at Saumur, then Principal in Glasgow College. In little more than a year he returned to France, and died there at the age of forty-six. He was greatly esteemed both in England and France. He was one of the earliest defenders of that theory of the will which was afterwards espoused by Jonathan Edwards, and, after Bullinger, he was the most active assertor of that milder system of predestinarianism which early in the seventeenth century found considerable acceptance both in France and in England. It was earnestly advocated in the former by Amyraut (with whose name it has been associated), and in the latter by Overall, Davenant, Ussher, and many others. Several of his treatises were published separately; one at least, in defence of the Protestant idea of the Church against the Romish, was translated into English and published at Oxford. At the request of a synod of the French Reformed Church, his works were collected and edited by Capellus

and Amyraut, and passed through three editions. Principal Strang seems to have followed somewhat in the wake of Cameron; at least he was charged with 'withdrawing from the divine decree the act and entity of sin;' but even the cautious Baillie, who thought 'he swayed too much to one side,' prized the man's 'ingyne and learning,' and was disposed to regard him as one of the best scholars in the Reformed Church. Dr. John Forbes, the learned Professor of Theology in King's College, Aberdeen, almost continuously, from 1620 to 1643, taught the same system of moderate predestinarianism, and, like Boyd, appealed to Augustine and Prosper quite as much as to Calvin. His doctrinal teaching was very highly approved in Holland, and, so far as I know, was never called in question in his own country, but he was ultimately deposed for refusing to take the Covenant. Dr. John Sharp, or Scharpius, who in 1606 had been banished for taking part in the Assembly at Aberdeen, taught theology for a number of years at Die in Dauphiné. In 1610 he published a treatise on justification, and, in 1618, a system of theology under the title of *Cursus Theologicus*. It was dedicated to King James, and, having made his peace with him or with Charles, he was in 1630 appointed Professor of Theology in the University of Edinburgh, in succession to James Fairley, afterwards Bishop of

Argyll, and was in all probability the chief theological teacher of Robert Leighton, whose father's opinions in his early life he had shared. Dr. Sharp continued to hold his office through these unquiet times up to 1647, when he died. He seems to have taken a keen interest in the changes which took place on the restoration of Presbytery, and to have contributed largely towards the support of the Scotch army in England. His *Cursus Theologicus* passed through at least three editions, all of which were published on the Continent. His *Symphonia Prophetarum et Apostolorum* was also published abroad, and passed through two or more editions.

In their revulsion from the Arminianism and sacerdotalism of the younger bishops who had been so zealously patronised by Laud, the Covenanting ministers of Scotland generally favoured a more decided Calvinism than that of Cameron, Forbes, and Strang, or than that of Davenant, Ussher, and their Puritan disciples in the south. Some of them, like Rutherfurd, even favoured the supralapsarian view, and resolutely defended it, though they granted that the questions in which they differed from their brethren were questions to be discussed in the schools rather than to be determined in a Confession of Faith.[1] A very

[1] Baillie's *Letters*, vol. iii. p. 6; *Minutes of Westminster Assembly*, p. lv.

remarkable discussion on Arminianism occurred in the Glasgow Assembly in 1638.[1] The ablest and most fully reported speech was that of Mr. David Dick or Dickson, afterwards Professor of Divinity, first at Glasgow and then at Edinburgh. If any one comes to the conclusion that there is a wide difference between the tone and temper in which the controversy is treated in the works of the theologians above referred to and in the speech of Mr. Andrew Ramsay, he may be asked to bear in mind that he as well as they had been a professor under the episcopal *régime*, and remained to the last but an indifferent Covenanter.

Besides the contributions of these scholars to the illustration and defence of the doctrines of grace and to the exposition of the Scriptures in accordance with the principles of Augustine and Calvin, there were several Scotch divines who distinguished themselves by their works in the department of Church history and Church constitution. I mention first the family of the Symsons, five of whom were ministers of the Church, one of whom, while a minister in France, published a brief but interesting tractate on the spuriousness of the so-called Clementine Epistle to James; another, larger treatises on the internal and external history of the Church, the latter of which was recast and republished in

[1] Peterkin's *Records of the Kirk*, pp. 156-159.

London; a third, besides other works, compiled a chronicle on the ecclesiastical history of Scotland, which has never yet seen the light. These Symsons were the nephews, and the church historian was also the name-son, of Patrick Adamson, of St. Andrews, the accomplished scholar whose sad story is one of the most mournful episodes in the history of the Scottish Church. Even one who regards his policy as a blunder and his compliance with the humour of the Court as a huge mistake, cannot but feel sorry for the great scholar, who had given to the Church an elegant Latin prose version of the Confession of 1560, and a much-lauded metrical Latin version of Calvin's catechism, and who in old age was so heartlessly abandoned by the sovereign he had sacrificed so much to serve. In the department of Church constitution, David Calderwood stands decidedly pre-eminent. His *Altare Damascenum* — the great armoury from which the Presbyterians after 1637—Gillespie, Rutherfurd, and Baillie—drew their weapons for the conflict with prelatists and sectaries, is by far the most exhaustive and learned defence of Presbytery which Scotland has produced, and is said, by its massive learning and calm reasoning, to have drawn a tribute of reluctant admiration from King James himself. The first draft of it was published in English in 1621, but it was carefully revised and very greatly

enlarged, and published in Latin in Holland, in 1623. A second edition of it was published in 1708, and it was not less valued by the learned divines of Holland than by his own countrymen. Most of the works previously referred to, it will be observed, were also published in Latin, and so, while accessible to the educated in their own country, they appealed to a far wider public, and circulated in all the Reformed Churches of the period. The native Scottish dialect, as it had prevailed before the Reformation, received a rude shock by that event. The long residence of Knox in England, and with a congregation of English exiles on the Continent, had necessitated to a considerable extent his adoption of the 'southern tongue,' and the influence of this was apparent in all the formularies he prepared for the Scottish Church. The circulation of the English Bible tended still more than these formularies to give a certain currency to southern forms of speech. Southern influence had told on Willock and some others of the early Reformed teachers, and though somewhat later there was a reaction for a time, and, under the Melvilles especially, a purer Scottish dialect was fostered, yet with the accession of James to the English throne disintegrating influences were revived and intensified. The native Scottish, though then and for long after used as the vehicle of oral instruction, was not

cultivated as a fit vehicle for literary work, and Scottish divines who wished to appeal to an educated public in literary form preferred to make use of the Latin tongue. Many of these divines besides, by their long residence abroad, had, like Buchanan, become more at home in it than in the unsettled native dialect. During the 16th and 17th centuries, as Professor Veitch has lately told us, 'there was hardly a University on the continent of Europe which did not contain, we might almost say was not made famous by, the Scottish regent, or Professor of Philosophy, who had learned his dialectic in his native University.' Not a few of these, in Protestant Universities, rose from being regents in philosophy to be professors of theology, and naturally published in the Latin, in which they were first composed, their *theses*, *cursus*, and commentaries. Several of them ultimately returned to adorn the theological chairs in the Universities of Scotland, as Melville, Smeton, Johnston, Howie, Boyd, Sharp, Weemse, and the Colvilles, though they still continued to maintain friendly intercourse with the theologians of the various schools where they had studied or taught, on the Continent, and to solicit their counsel and aid in the publication of their works.

To restore the faith held by both Churches in common at the era of the Reformation, and to replace Augustinianism in its old post of honour,

was the main object intended to be effected by the Westminster Assembly—first in revising the English Articles, and then in preparing those new doctrinal standards of its own—the Confession and Catechisms—with which the future of Presbyterianism was to be so closely linked.

And I shall now proceed to lay before you the historical details regarding the preparation of the Westminster Confession of Faith. It was on 20th August 1644, that a committee was appointed by the Assembly 'to prepare matter for a joint Confession of Faith.' This committee consisted of Drs. Gouge, Temple, and Hoyle, Messrs. Gataker, Arrowsmith, Burroughs, Burgess, Vines, and Goodwin, together with the Scotch Commissioners. A fortnight later, Dr. Smith and Messrs. Palmer, Newcomen, Herle, Reynolds, Wilson, Tuckney, Young, Ley, and Sedgewick were added to the committee, or constituted an additional committee. Probably the subjects of some of the chapters, or part of the matter which was ultimately embodied in the Confession, was selected or prepared by these committees.[1] But the digesting of the material collected into more formal shape—a draft, as it was technically

[1] Under date of 25th April, Baillie writes, 'The Catechise and Confession of Faith are put in the hands of several committees,' some reports are made to the Assembly concerning both, and on 4th May he adds, 'upon both which we have already made some entrance.'

termed—was on 12th May 1645 intrusted to a smaller committee, consisting apparently of Drs. Temple and Hoyle, Messrs. Gataker, Harris, Burgess, Reynolds, Herle, and the Scotch Commissioners. On the 7th July, 'Dr. Temple made report of that part of the Confession of Faith touching the Scriptures. It was read and debated,' and the debate was continued in several subsequent sessions of the Assembly. On the following day Messrs. Reynolds, Herle, and Newcomen (to whom, on December 8th, were joined Messrs. Tuckney and Whitaker, and, on 17th July 1646, Mr. Arrowsmith)[1] were appointed a committee, 'to take care of the wording of the Confession,' as its Articles should be voted in the several sessions of the Assembly, but according to understood rule they were to communicate with the Scotch Commissioners and to report to the Assembly any changes in the wording of the sentences which they deemed necessary, as new propositions were added on to those previously passed. On the 11th July it was ordered that the body of the Confession, as it is then termed, the heads of the Confession as it is subsequently entitled, should be divided among the three committees—that is, as I suppose, that the material prepared by the previous small committee should be handed over to these larger committees, and

[1] *Minutes of Assembly*, pp. 110, 168, 470.

further discussed and elaborated by them before being brought into the Assembly. This order was carried out on the 16th. To the first committee were referred the materials on the heads, 'God and the Holy Trinity; God's decrees, predestination, election, etc.; the works of creation and providence; and man's fall.' To the second committee were referred the materials on the heads of 'Sin and the punishment thereof; free will, the covenant of grace, and Christ our Mediator.' To the third committee were assigned the materials on the heads of 'Effectual vocation, justification, adoption, and sanctification.' The committees were directed, if they saw fit to leave out any of these heads or to add any other, to report the matter to the Assembly.[1] A further distribution of heads or materials was made on 18th November 1645, on the motion of Mr. Whitaker. To the first committee were referred the heads on perseverance [of the saints], Christian liberty, the Church, and the communion of saints; to the second those on the officers and censures of the Church, on councils or synods, the sacraments, baptism and the Lord's Supper; and to the third, those on the law of God, on religion, and worship. A final distribution was made on 23d February 1645-6, when there were referred to the first committee the heads on the Christian Sabbath, the

[1] *Minutes of the Assembly*, pp. 112, 114.

civil magistrate, marriage and divorce; to the second those on the certainty of salvation, lies and equivocation,[1] and the state of the soul after death; and to the third, those on the resurrection, the last judgment, and life eternal.

The report on the draft of the committee concerning God was brought in and debated on the 18th and 23d July 1645. On the latter day the report on the subject of the Trinity was also brought in. On 29th August, the first committee brought in their report 'of God's decree' and the second theirs 'of Christ the Mediator.' The discussion on the former began at once, and was prosecuted at intervals afterwards very fully.[2] The latter was taken up on 2d September, and at a number of the subsequent sessions. On 8th September, the quorum of each of the three committees was reduced to six, as difficulty had been experienced in securing a larger attendance at their meetings. The next day Mr. Prophet brought in the report of the third committee of effectual calling, and the discussions on that and the two previous reports extended through the month of September. Before the close of November reports appear to have been given in from

[1] This was probably merged in § 4 of the chapter of lawful oaths and vows.

[2] See the notes of these memorable debates from 20th to 24th October in the printed *Minutes of the Assembly*, pp. 150 to 160, and remarks on these in Introduction, p. liii., etc.

the first Committee 'of creation and providence,' from the second 'of the fall of man, of sin and the punishment thereof,' and from the third 'of adoption and sanctification.' In the beginning of December, Mr. Cheynell brought in the report of justification, and Dr. Stanton and the second committee those on the sacraments in general, and on baptism and the Lord's supper in particular, and these were debated and adjusted during that month and the one following. On 15th December, Dr. Gouge brought in the report 'of free will,' and, probably on the 19th, from the same committee, that 'of perseverance.' A notable debate about the 'grace of baptism' took place on the 5th and 6th January. The report from the third committee 'of the law of God' was given in by Dr. Wincop on 1st January 1645-6, and was discussed at several sessions in the course of that month. The reports 'of lawful oaths and vows, of Christian liberty, and of church officers' were all brought in before the close of January. That on Christian liberty formed the main subject of discussion during February. During that month the report 'of the communion of saints' was also brought in. That and the article 'of the Church,' and especially the paragraph on the headship of Christ and the autonomy of his Church, formed the main subject of debate throughout the months of March and April. The

reports 'of religious worship, and the Sabbath day,' and 'of the civil magistrate' were given in and discussed during the same months, and the article on Christian liberty was also made the subject of further debate.

During the whole of the summer and autumn of 1646, the completion of the Confession had been retarded by the differences which had arisen between the Houses of Parliament and the Assembly, regarding the right of the office-bearers of the Church to keep back from the communion those whom they deemed ignorant or scandalous, and by the differences which arose among themselves on matters of detail, when they set themselves to prepare full answers to the Queries of the House of Commons respecting the *jus divinum* of church-government. The greater part of their time during the month of May, and the first half of the months of June and July, was devoted to the preparation of these answers. On 17th June, they resolved to go over the Confession again, as it had now been digested and arranged by the committee appointed to methodise the several articles, and to revise and perfect the wording of them. That their review might be the more thorough it was resolved that it should be made, not by attempting to read the whole over at once, but by reading it again 'in parts.' To do this formed the main work of the Assembly till 4th December

1646. With respect to most of the heads or articles thus reviewed, the minutes simply bear that they were 'debated and ordered, and are as follows,' though in the MS. minutes the words as finally adjusted do not follow. But in regard to the heads of marriage, the civil magistrate, faith, repentance, good works, certainty of salvation, synods and councils, the resurrection, judgment, and life eternal, which in all probability had only been elaborated and brought in for the first time after the review began, pretty full details are embodied in the minutes. So far as appears from the minutes, the various articles of the Confession were passed by the Assembly all but unanimously. On some occasions, when dissent was indicated even by one or two of the members, the wording of the article they objected to was so modified as to satisfy them. The main occasions on which this policy was not followed were on 4th September 1645, with regard to Dr. Burgess's dissent from the resolution of the Assembly to leave out the word 'Blessed,' retained both in the English and Irish Articles, before the name of the Virgin mother of our Lord; on 23d September 1646, with regard to Mr. Whitaker's dissent from the words 'fore-ordained to everlasting death;' and on 21st October 1646, with regard to the dissent of several of the Independents from the insertion in a Confession of Faith of certain parts of § 3, chap. xxiii. In

regard to matters of detail, some close divisions seem to have taken place. Three such divisions appear to have taken place in the single session of 20th November 1646. The only one, however, of the slightest importance was the first, in which, by 21 votes against 17, an addition concerning praises and thanksgiving, proposed by Dr. Burgess, and probably intended to be introduced after § 4 of chap. xxi., was peremptorily rejected. At the final reading of the Confession, before it was sent up to the Houses, at the urgent request of Gillespie, the word 'God' was substituted for 'Christ' in three places in the chapter on the civil magistrate, which otherwise might have been said incidentally to determine the question that he held his office from Christ as Mediator. Dr. Burgess, who maintained that view, dissented from the change, and a special *memorandum* was entered in their minutes that the Assembly did not mean by the change 'to determine the controversy about the subordination of the civil magistrate to Christ as Mediator,'[1] but simply to leave it open and both parties free to hold their respective opinions upon it. On 17th August, on the other hand, the following proposition had been affirmed to be true, though it was resolved it should not be inserted in the Confession of Faith: 'Synods or councils, made up of ministers

[1] *Minutes*, p. 308.

and other ruling officers of the Church, have not only a directive power in things ecclesiastical, but a corrective power also, and may rescind an evil sentence if adhered unto in any inferior Assembly, and excommunicate such persons as are otherwise incorrigible.'[1]

While this review of the Confession was going on, various Orders were sent down from the Houses for hastening the completion of it, and particularly one on 22nd July 1646, 'desiring the Assembly to hasten the perfecting of the Confession of Faith and the Catechism, because of the great use there may be of them in the Kingdom, both for the suppressing of errors and heresies and for informing the ignorance of the people.' This Order was accepted by the Assembly as an indirect release from the task of preparing elaborate answers to the queries of the House of Commons, and, leaving that work meantime to be unofficially done by the authors of the *Jus Divinum Regiminis Ecclesiastici*, they returned with promptitude to the preparation of the Confession of Faith. On 18th September there came a further Order from the House to send to them the Confession of Faith, or so much thereof as they have perfected. Accordingly, by the 25th September, after the 15th, 16th, 17th, 18th, and 19th chapters had been finally passed, it was resolved that the first nineteen heads or

[1] *Minutes*, p. 269.

chapters,[1] as ultimately passed, be sent up to the House of Commons. This was done by a small committee the same day, and on 1st October a duplicate was sent to the House of Lords.[2] On 9th October the House of Commons had what had been sent up read over, and ordered 500 copies of it to be printed for the use of the Houses, and of the Assembly. In the following month the House of Lords had not only read over but passed, apparently without debate, what had been sent up to them, and urged the House of Commons to do the same, 'that the Protestant Churches abroad as well as the people at home may have knowledge how that the Parliament did never intend to innovate in matters of faith'—in other words, they looked on the new Confession as in substantial harmony with the old Articles. By the 4th December 1646 the Confession of Faith was finished,[3] and on that day it was presented by the whole Assembly to the House of Commons, and on the 7th in the same way to the House of Lords. Thanks were returned by both Houses to the Assembly 'for their great pains' in the matter,

[1] On the 21st it was resolved that 'the several heads of the Confession of Faith shall be called by the name of chapters, and that the several sections be distinguished by figures only.'—*Minutes*, p. 286.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 291; Commons' *Journals*, vol. iv. p. 677; Lords' *Journals*, vol. viii. p. 505.

[3] It was deemed so on 26th Nov., but changes were made after.

and authority was given to them to print 600 copies of the whole treatise for the service of the two Houses and of the Assembly. Shortly after, a new Order was made by the House of Commons that 'Scripture proofs should be added;'[1] and, on 29th April 1647, a committee of the Assembly further presented to both the Houses the Confession of Faith with the Scripture proofs inserted in the margin; and of this also 600 copies were ordered to be printed. These three impressions were *printed*, not published, as—'THE HUMBLE ADVICE OF THE ASSEMBLY OF DIVINES NOW BY AUTHORITY OF PARLIAMENT SITTING AT WESTMINSTER' (with the additions respectively following) '*Concerning a part of a Confession of Faith*'—

[1] The inserting of these proofs, which contributed so much to give the doctrinal standards of the Assembly such a firm hold on the minds of the lay members of the Church, was urged by the House of Commons. Their motives, however, were suspected, and the Order was complied with by the divines somewhat reluctantly. The following copy of their Petition to the House of Commons, in answer to their Order, is preserved in a recently recovered volume of the records of the Commission of the Scottish Assembly:—

'The Assemblie of Divines having received an Order from this hon^ble^ house, bearing date the 9th of October, that five hundred copies of the advice of the Assemblie of Divines, concerning part of a Confession of Faith brought into this house and no more, be forthwith printed for the use of the members of both houses only, and that the Divines be desired to put in the margent the proofs out of Scripture, to confirme what they have offered to the house in such places as they shall think most necessarie, Do humblie represent that they are willing and ready to obey that Order. Nevertheless, they humblie desire this hon^ble^ house to consider that the reason why the Assembly have not annexed any texts of

'*Concerning a Confession of Faith*'—and '*Concerning a Confession of Faith, with the quotations and texts of Scripture annexed.*' It was in Scotland, in the autumn or before the close of the year 1647, that the first edition of the Confession, bearing the title by which it has continued to be known, was issued to the public, and attempts seem to have been made to reprint this in England. It was not till the summer of the following year that the Confession, with the exceptions of chapters XXX. and XXXI. and certain portions of chapters XX. and XXIV., was approved by the English Parliament, and was published in London with the title, '*Articles of Christian Religion approved and passed*

Scripture to the several branches of the Confession wch are sent up, wer not only because the former Articles of the Church of England have not any, but principally because the Confession being large, and, as we conceive, requisite so to be, to settle the orthodox doctrine according to the word of God, and the confessions of the best reformed churches, so as to meet with common errors, if the Scriptures should have bene alleadged, it would have required a volume. As also because most of the particulars, being received truths among all churches, there was seldome any debate about the truth or falsehood of any article or clause, but rather about the manner of expression or the fitness to have it put into the Confession. Whereupon q^n^ y^r^ wer any texts debated in the Assembly, they were never put to the vote. And therefor everie text now to be annexed must be not only debated, but also voted in the Assembly; and it is free for everie one to offer what texts he thinks fitt to be debated, and to urge the annexing of Scriptures to such or such a branch, as he thinks necessary wch is lyke to be a work of great length. So that we humblie conceive, if it be the pleasure of this honourable House that we should annexe Scriptures, it is not possible that we should forthwith proceed to the printing of the Confession.'

by both Houses of Parliament after advice had with the Assembly of Divines.' This title was adopted because it was in nearer agreement with that of the Thirty-nine Articles, and also because the treatise was not in the direct form of a Confession, *i.e.* with the words 'I confess,' or some similar expression, at the beginning of the several chapters or sections, as in the old Scotch and several of the Continental Confessions.[1]

Before the debates on the Confession came to a close, Twisse and Henderson, who had been able to take but little part in them, were called to join the general assembly and church of the first-born above. The former died on the morning of Sunday, 19th July, and was buried in Westminster Abbey on the 24th, but his body was removed from its place of honourable sepulture at the Restoration. The latter died on the 19th August, worn out with anxieties and incessant labours more than by old age; as glad, he said, to be released as ever schoolboy was to return from school to his father's house. He had done a work which his countrymen were not to let die. But his departure left them for the time 'dark, feeble, and deploring.'

[1] Further details respecting the Confession and the proceedings of the English and Scottish Parliaments on it will be found in the notes appended to various passages of the printed volume of the *Minutes of the Assembly*, and particularly in that on pp. 412-423.

LECTURE XI.

THE WESTMINSTER CONFESSION OF FAITH OR ARTICLES OF CHRISTIAN RELIGION.

Part II.—Its sources and type of doctrine: answers to objections brought against it.

IN my last Lecture I gave you a brief sketch of the development of doctrine in the British Churches before the meeting of the Westminster Assembly, and a pretty full account of the proceedings of the divines in preparing their Confession of Faith. To-day I am to speak to you of the sources and character of that Confession, and briefly to advert to certain charges made against it.

It was long the received opinion that the Assembly's Confession was derived in a great measure from foreign sources, either Swiss or Dutch. The fact was overlooked that in Reynolds, Perkins, Whitaker, Carleton, Downame, the Abbots, Davenant, Overall, Prideaux, Ussher, Hall, Twisse, Ames, Ball, Featley, and Gataker, England for half a century had had a school of native theologians developing an Augustinian or moderately Calvinistic type of doctrine, without slavish dependence on the divines of any Continental school—a system

perhaps quite as largely drawn from Augustine and other early western doctors, as from any of the Reformers. Mr. Marsden, who has done so much by his writings to vindicate the character and teaching of the Puritans, has ventured (p. 86) to say of the Confession of the Assembly that 'it is in many respects an admirable summary of Christian faith and practice,' 'pure in style, the subjects well distributed and sufficiently comprehensive to form at least the outline of a perfect system of divinity.' But he has failed to light on its sources, and expressed regret that Ussher and the leaders of the native English school were not present in greater force to check undue deference to the views of Calvin and Bullinger. The younger Dr. M'Crie again, in his *Annals of Presbytery* in England, has confidently affirmed that 'it bears unmistakeably the stamp of the Dutch theology in the sharp distinctions, logical forms, and juridical terms into which the Reformed doctrine had gradually moulded itself under the red heat of the Arminian and Socinian controversies.'[1] Others, with greater want of caution still, have ventured to single out Cocceius[2] or

[1] *Annals of English Presbytery*, p. 177.

[2] Hallam says somewhat equivocally of him,—'He was remarkable for having viewed, more than any preceding writer, all the relations between God and man under the form of covenants, and introduced the technical language of jurisprudence into theology. . . . This became a very usual mode of treating the subject in Holland, and *afterwards* in England.'

Turretine as the true and immediate prototype of the teaching of the Confession. But the Westminster divines had done their work before either of these men had become known as influential factors in the development of the Reformed theology. And there is abundant evidence that in its general plan, as well as in the tenor and wording of its more important Articles, the Assembly's Confession is derived immediately, not from foreign, but from native sources, and that it embodies, not conclusions adopted slavishly from any continental school, but the results of the matured thought and speculation of the native British school,[1] which led quite as much as it followed in the wake of others, both in reviving the life of the Churches and in systematising their doctrines. The Confession may confidently, and I may now say confessedly,[2] be

[1] *Irish Articles.*—Of the Holy Scriptures and the three Creeds, of Faith in the Holy Trinity, of God's Eternal Decree and Predestination, of the Creation and Government of all things, of the Fall of Man, Original Sin, and the State of Man before Justification (including article on Free Will), of Christ the Mediator, of the Second Covenant, of the Communicating of the Grace of Christ, of Justification and Faith etc. *Westminster Confession.*—I. Of the Holy Scripture. II. Of God and of the Holy Trinity. III. Of God's Eternal Decree. IV. Of Creation. V. Of Providence. VI. Of the Fall of Man, of Sin and of the Punishment thereof. IX. Of Free Will. VII. Of God's Covenant with Man. VIII. Of Christ the Mediator. X. Of Effectual Calling. XI. Of Justification. XIV. Of Saving Faith, etc. For fuller statement of this and other correspondences, see the works referred to on pp. 374, 376.

[2] Schaff's *Creeds of Christendom*, vol. i. p. 761; Killen's *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland*, vol. i. pp. 494, 495.

traced up to those unquestionably Augustinian Articles[1] of the Irish Church, which are believed to have been prepared by Ussher when Professor of Divinity in Trinity College, Dublin, and which in 1615 were adopted by the Irish Convocation, with the assent of the Viceroy or the King, as 'Articles to be subscribed by all ministers,' and at least not to be contradicted by them in their public teaching. This, I hardly need to remind you, was before the Synod of Dort had met, or the intense heats, which the agitation of the Arminian and Socinian controversies occasioned there, had extended to Britain; while the more important of the juridical terms were already in use both on the Continent and in Britain, and

[1] These Articles were held in high repute by almost all the sound Protestant ministers in Britain as well as in Ireland. They embodied the mature opinions of Ussher and of several other learned and orthodox divines, who scrupled at no ceremony required in the Service Book, shrunk from no submission required to the absolute will of the King in things indifferent, and were in no sense liable to the charge of following Puritanism, if that was anything else than a nickname extended to the opinions of all who did not favour the views of Laud and his school. In these articles we have certainly the main source of the Westminster Confession, and almost its exact prototype in the enunciation of all the more important doctrines of the Christian system. In the order and titles of most of the articles or chapters, as well as in the language of many sections or subdivisions of chapters, and in a large number of separate phrases or *voces signatæ*, occurring throughout their Confession, the Westminster divines appear to me to have followed very closely in the footsteps of Ussher and the Irish Convocation. There are not wanting indeed proofs that other Reformed Confessions, particularly those of the French and Belgian or Dutch

several of them, in fact, in the Roman Catholic as well as in the Protestant Church.[1] 'This elaborate formulary,' Dr. Killen tells us, 'when adopted, was signed by Jones, Archbishop of Dublin, Speaker of the House of Bishops in Convocation and Lord Chancellor of Ireland; by the Prolocutor of the other House of the clergy, in their names; and by the Lord Deputy Chichester, in the name of the Sovereign. It has indeed been questioned whether it was ever submitted to the Irish legislature; and on the presumption that such an oversight occurred its authority has been challenged; but as Parliament was sitting it is quite possible that even this form was not neglected, though we have no positive proof of its observance. It is certain that at the time the Articles were understood to possess the highest sanction which the State could confer on them.' Ussher at least did not regard them as superseded by the adoption of the English Articles in 1634, and continued to require subscription to them as well as to the latter while he remained in

Churches were also kept in view by them. But if the order of the chapters in these other confessions be compared with that of the Irish and Westminster formularies, it will at once be perceived that these last two have a special affinity in that respect, as well as in regard to the exact titles of the chapters and the language in which many of the sections are expressed. For particulars, see Introduction to the *Minutes of Westminster Assembly*, pp. xlvii. xlviii., and my lecture on *The Westminster Confession*, pp. 8-12, and 33-42.

[1] Paper by Prof. A. A. Hodge, p. 366 of *Report of the Proceedings of the Second General Council of the Presbyterian Alliance.*

Ireland. The adoption of these Articles induced a number of Puritan ministers from England, as well as from Scotland,[1] to settle among the colonists of Ulster, among whom, till the time of Strafford, they enjoyed a generous toleration, and more than repaid it by the good service they did to these motley immigrants. Perhaps equally with the similar efforts in Scotland the following year, to unite both parties in drawing up a new Confession and formularies, they are indications of a nobler policy on the part of Abbot to emphasise the great matters on which moderate Puritans and Churchmen of his own school agreed, and to cast into the shade or allow a large toleration on the minor matters on which they differed,—a policy for which the times were not ripe, or to which the King himself proved fickle.

In a lecture on the Confession of Faith published in 1866,[2] I exhibited in detail the correspondence between these Irish Articles and the Westminster Confession, both in general arrangements and the wording of many sections. The more important of the correspondencies have been reprinted in that great work of Dr. Schaff on the Creeds of Christendom, for which we owe

[1] 'All of them enjoyed the churches and tithes though they remained Presbyterian and used not the liturgy.'—*Neal.* 'Episcopacy existed, but only in a very modified form.'—*Perry.*

[2] *Westminster Confession of Faith:* A Contribution to the Study of its History, and to the Defence of its Teaching. Edinburgh, 1866.

him such a debt of gratitude. The subject has been treated more succinctly but very satisfactorily since, by Dr. Briggs of New York, in his paper in the *Presbyterian Review* for January 1880. I do not venture to assert that the Assembly have in no case determined questions which Ussher and the Irish Convocation had left undecided; but I do say that these questions are neither many nor important, and are rather details than principles of their system, which they did not mean thereby to elevate to a factitious importance. Besides, when occasion called they took the greatest pains to express their sentiments in such a way as to obviate or minimise objections which had been taken or might fairly have been taken to the words or matter of the English and the Irish Articles.[1] Dean Stanley has on various occasions admitted that this, in several important instances, has been fully made out.[2] The volume of their minutes which has been published clearly shows that more than one

[1] While the terms *predestinate* and *predestination* are used in the same sense as in the English and Irish Articles, the term *reprobated*, which had been admitted into the Lambeth and Irish Articles, is exchanged for the word *foreordained*. The expression, 'to *reconcile His Father* unto us,' retained both in the English and Irish Articles, is also changed. See notes in *Minutes*, pp. xlviii., etc.

[2] In his paper in the *Contemporary* for March 1866, p. 547, also in the paper written by him just before his death, and inserted in *Macmillan's Magazine* for August 1881, this is admitted in regard to several very important particulars.

attempt made to persuade them to determine questions wisely left undecided by the Irish Convocation and the Synod of Dort, was strenuously resisted[1] by a number of the English members, who were true successors of the great English divines who had attended that Synod, and claimed in various respects to have moderated its conclusions. With respect to the doctrine of the Covenants, which some assert to have been derived from Holland, I think myself now, after careful investigation, entitled to maintain that there is nothing taught in the Confession which had not been long before in substance taught by Rollock and Howie in Scotland, and by Cartwright, Preston, Perkins, Ames, and Ball in his two catechisms in England, while there is a perceptible advance beyond what is exhibited as the general teaching of the Dutch divines in the *Synopsis Purioris Theologiæ* as late as 1642. The later and most remarkable treatise of Ball, on the 'Covenant of Grace,' was published with recommendatory notices by Reynolds, Cawdrey, Calamy, Hill, Ashe, and Burgess at the very time the Assembly began to frame its Confession, and it contains all that has been admitted into the Westminster standards, or generally received on this head among British Calvinists.[2] The

[1] *Minutes of Westminster Assembly*, pp. 150, 151, 152, etc.

[2] See the account given of it in my paper in the *Report of the Proceedings of the Second General Council of the Presbyterian Alliance*, pp. 478, 479; also Appendix, Note N.

work of Cocceius, even in its earliest form, was not given to the world till after the Confession had been completed and published; nor was it brought substantially into the shape in which we now have it till 1654, by which date several other treatises on the subject of the Covenants had issued from the English press. Some have forgotten these patent facts; many more have overlooked the less patent but not less important ones that Cocceius was the pupil of Ames or Amesius,[1] the well-known English Puritan who was called to teach theology in Holland. He, as well as Cloppenburg his colleague, taught and published views as to the Covenants, similar in character to those of Ball already referred to. Cocceius, it is true, does not directly acknowledge his obligations to the English divines as he does his obligations to Olevianus. Still, there are resemblances in his work to theirs, and there are more marked resemblances to Ball's, especially to its historical sections, in the great work of Witsius *De Œconomia Fœderum.* Had the Dutch writers really preceded the English these resemblances would no doubt have been confidently appealed to as proof that the English had borrowed from or followed in the wake of the Dutch.

[1] 'Amesius the Puritan insisted upon piety of heart and life, and Amama his friend specially enforced the study of the original text of Scripture. The two latter obtained great influence over the mind of the piously educated young student.'—Dorner's *History of Protestant Theology*, vol. ii. p. 31.

In regard to the important chapters of the Confession on the Holy Scriptures, God and the Holy Trinity, God's Eternal Decree, Christ the Mediator, the Covenant of Grace, and the Lord's Supper, which so largely determine its character as a whole, the resemblance to the Irish Articles both in expression and general arrangement is so close, that not the slightest doubt can be entertained about the main source from which the materials for these chapters have been derived.[1] As little doubt can be entertained in regard to the design of the framers in following so closely in the footsteps of Ussher and his Irish brethren. They meant to show him and others like him, who had not had the courage to take their place among them, that though absent they were not forgotten nor their work disregarded. They meant their Confession to be in harmony with the *consensus* of the Reformed Churches, and especially of the British Reformed Churches, as that had been expressed in their most matured symbol. They desired it to be a bond of union, not a cause of strife and division, among those who were resolutely determined to hold fast by 'the sum and substance of the doctrine' of the Reformed Churches—the

[1] See my paper on the bibliology of the Westminster Confession in the Appendix to *The Proceedings of the First General Presbyterian Council* (Edinburgh, 1877); Introduction to the *Minutes of the Westminster Assembly*, pp. xlix. to lxix.; and *Lecture on the Westminster Confession of Faith*, pp. 8-12.

Augustinianism so widely accepted in the times of Elizabeth and James. In that logical and system-loving age, it was thought that they had been wonderfully successful in their efforts to carry out their desires and intentions, so that Baillie could boast of their work being 'cried up by many of their greatest opposites as the best Confession yet extant,' and Baxter could concede that it was 'the most excellent for fulness and exactness he had ever read from any Church,' and, with all his individualism, could pitch on nothing in it as contrary to his judgment save a few minor matters which he did not venture to deny were capable of a benign interpretation. The Independents both in England and New England, and the Baptists in England, expressed their substantial approval of it, so far as it had been accepted by the English Parliament. In our own day a different view has often been taken of the Confession, and many hard things have been said of it, some by professed friends, more by avowed opponents of its teaching. I have endeavoured, in the Introduction to the published volume of the *Minutes of the Assembly* already referred to, to vindicate it from the more serious charges which have been brought against it, and to claim for it and its authors that the justice be done them to read it in the light of the writings and known sentiments of the men who drew it up, and less exclusively than has long been done in the light of the teaching and traditions of later and narrower

times—to strip it as far as possible of the accretions which in the lapse of time have gathered round it, and marred in greater or lesser measure its goodly form and true proportions.[1] I must refer any of you who wish to go thoroughly into this matter to what I have there advanced and still abide by, as to the inspiration and consequent canonicity and authority of Holy Scripture, the doctrines of the Blessed Trinity, of the creation and the fall of man, of Christ the Mediator, of redemption and justification through his obedience unto death, of the Christian Sabbath and the Lord's Supper, and above all, of the mysterious doctrine of predestination, in the exposition of which the Irish Articles are *most closely* adhered to.[2] On this last it has been again grievously misrepresented by some, of

[1] We have several excellent commentaries on it, but they are mostly expository or dogmatic, and have made comparatively little use of the vast mass of materials we possess in the writings of those who framed it, to illustrate its spirit and expound the more delicate shades of its teaching. Quotations from Owen and later men are not without their use, nor those from Hooker and Pearson; but more use must be made of the writings of the members of the Assembly, and of the writings of that great divine from whose Articles and Catechisms they drew so largely.

[2] I place the two once more in opposite columns, that it may be seen how closely the later has followed the earlier, and how faithfully, in regard to this important head, the terms of pacification agreed to by the Irish Convocation in 1615 were adhered to:

WESTMINSTER CONFESSION.	IRISH ARTICLES.
CHAPTER III.—OF GOD'S ETERNAL DECREE.	ARTICLE III.—OF GOD'S ETERNAL DECREE AND PREDESTINATION.
I. God from all eternity did, by the most wise and holy coun-	II. God from all eternity did, by his unchangeable counsel,

whom better things might have been expected, and the fairness at least have been shown to deal with its teaching on this mysterious subject as it was explained in the writings of the great English

sel of his own will, freely and unchangeably ordain whatsoever comes to pass: yet so, as thereby neither is God the author of sin, nor is violence offered to the will of the creatures, nor is the liberty or contingency of second causes taken away, but rather established.

II. Although God knows whatsoever may or can come to pass upon all supposed conditions; yet hath he not decreed anything because he foresaw it as future, or as that which would come to pass upon such conditions.

III. By the decree of God, for the manifestation of his glory, some men and angels are predestinated unto everlasting life, and others fore-ordained to everlasting death.

IV. These angels and men, thus predestinated and fore-ordained, are particularly and unchangeably designed; and their number is so certain and definite, that it cannot be either increased or diminished.

V. Those of mankind that are predestinated unto life, God, before the foundation of the world was laid, according to his eternal and immutable purpose,

ordain whatsoever in time should come to pass: yet so as thereby no violence is offered to the wills of the reasonable creatures, and neither the liberty nor the contingency of the second causes is taken away, but established rather.

12. By the same eternal counsel, God hath predestinated some unto life, and reprobated some unto death: of both which there is a certain number known only to God, which can neither be increased nor diminished.

13. Predestination to life is the everlasting purpose of God, whereby, before the foundations of the world were laid, he hath constantly decreed in his secret

scholars and divines from whom mainly it came, and as it has been guarded by the authors of the Confession themselves, and not as it has been exaggerated by the representations of any later or narrower

and the secret counsel and good pleasure of his will, hath chosen in Christ unto everlasting glory, out of his mere free grace and love, without any foresight of faith or good works, or perseverance in either of them, or any other thing in the creature, as conditions, or causes moving him thereunto; and all to the praise of his glorious grace.

VI. As God hath appointed the elect unto glory, so hath he, by the eternal and most free purpose of his will, fore-ordained all the means thereunto. Wherefore they who are elected being fallen in Adam, are redeemed by Christ; are effectually called to faith in Christ by his Spirit working in due season; are justified, adopted, sanctified, and kept by his power through faith unto salvation. Neither are any other redeemed by Christ, effectually called, justified, adopted, sanctified, and saved, but the elect only.

counsel to deliver from curse and damnation those whom he hath chosen in Christ out of mankind, and to bring them by Christ unto everlasting salvation, as vessels made to honour.

14. The cause moving God to predestinate unto life, is not the foreseeing of faith, or perseverance or good works, or of anything which is in the person predestinated, but only the good pleasure of God himself.

15. Such as are predestinated unto life, be called according unto God's purpose (his Spirit working in due season), and through grace they obey the calling, they be justified freely, they be made sons of God by adoption, they be made like the image of his only begotten Son Jesus Christ, they walk religiously in good works, and at length, by God's mercy, they attain to everlasting felicity.

32. None can come unto Christ unless it be given unto him, and unless the Father draw him. And all men are not so drawn by the Father that they may come unto the Son. Neither is there such a sufficient measure of grace vouchsafed unto every man whereby he is enabled to come unto everlasting life.

school, or as it may be distorted by questionable inferences of their own. In regard to the doctrine actually taught in the Confession I cannot compress into shorter space what I have already said, but must content myself with referring to the

VII. The rest of mankind, God was pleased, according to the unsearchable counsel of his own will, whereby he extendeth or withholdeth mercy as he pleaseth, for the glory of his sovereign power over his creatures, to pass by, and to ordain them to dishonour and wrath for their sin, to the praise of his glorious justice.

VIII. The doctrine of this high mystery of predestination is to be handled with special prudence and care, that men attending to the will of God revealed in his Word, and yielding obedience thereunto, may, from the certainty of their effectual vocation, be assured of their eternal election. So shall this doctrine afford matter of praise, reverence, and admiration of God, and of humility, diligence, and abundant consolation to all that sincerely obey the gospel.

But such as are not predestinated to salvation shall finally be condemned for their sins.

14. For all things being ordained for the manifestation of his glory, and his glory being to appear both in the works of his mercy and of his justice; it seemed good to his heavenly wisdom to choose out a certain number towards whom he would extend his undeserved mercy, leaving the rest to be spectacles of his justice.

17. We must receive God's promises in such wise as they be generally set forth unto us in Holy Scripture; and in our doings, that will of God is to be followed, which we have expressly declared unto us in the Word of God.

The only section of this chapter of the Westminster Confession which has not a correspondent paragraph in the Irish Article is the second. This simply negatives the Jesuit theory of a predestination based on *scientia media*, and that was the least that could be expected from an Assembly over which Twisse presided.

pretty full statement I have given in the Introduction to the *Minutes of the Westminster Assembly*, pp. lii. to lxiv. I subjoin, however, a brief reply to some of the objections brought against it.

In reply to the reckless assertion, that those who hold this doctrine as it is set forth in the Westminster Standards cannot preach to their perishing fellow-sinners the love of God and the freeness of Christ's salvation, I deem it sufficient to point to the fact that they have never ceased to preach these truths fully and faithfully. They believe them in their inmost hearts, and allow their belief to influence their conduct and mould their teaching, and none have ever set forth these precious truths with more winning tenderness or more marked success, than the men who embraced their system of doctrine, and had a firm grasp of their principles as Leighton, Rutherfurd, Sedgewick, Arrowsmith, Tuckney, Calamy, and Bunyan, in the seventeenth century, Willison, Boston, Whitfield, and the Erskines in the eighteenth, and Chalmers, M'Cheyne, the Bonars, Nicolson, and Crawford in the nineteenth century. By none in recent times has the general Fatherhood of God been more resolutely defended than by the last named of these divines, who was fully persuaded that, in that as well as in the other distinctive articles of his creed, he was following faithfully[1] in

[1] See the views of Harris and Ball in *Minutes*, pp. lx., lxiii.

the footsteps of the Westminster divines. Even the so-called 'grim' Synod of Dort denounced it as a calumny against the Reformed Churches to assert that they held 'that God of his own absolute or arbitrary will, and without any respect of sin, hath foreordained or created the greater part or any part of mankind to be damned, or that his decree is in any such sense the cause of sin or of final unbelief as it is the cause of faith and good works.' And as to the atonement of Christ they say, 'This death of the Son of God is the only and most perfect sacrifice and satisfaction for sins, of infinite price and value, abundantly sufficient to expiate the sins of the whole world.' 'Furthermore, it is the promise of the gospel, that whosoever believes in Christ crucified should not perish but have everlasting life; which promise, together with the injunction of repentance and faith, ought promiscuously and without distinction to be declared and published to all people to whom God in his good pleasure sends the gospel. But forasmuch as many being called by the gospel do not repent nor believe in Christ, but perish in their infidelity, this comes not to pass through any defect or insufficiency of the sacrifice of Christ offered upon the cross, but by their own proper fault.' And again they say, 'This default is not in the gospel, nor in Christ offered by the gospel, nor in God who calleth them by his gospel, and moreover bestoweth

diverse special gifts upon them, but in themselves who are called; of whom some are so careless that they give no entrance at all to the word of life; others entertain it, but suffer it not to sink into their hearts, and so . . . afterwards become revolters.'

Even this much misrepresented Synod, no less than many Calvinists in our own day, appears to represent God our Father as having done as much for all to whom the gospel is sent, as the opposite system represents Him as having done for any. As Dr. Crawford has so well put it: 'It is only with reference to the non-elect that the Fatherly love of God can be deemed to be obscured by Calvinists. And hence the question comes to be, Wherein does the atonement present a less gracious aspect to those who are not eventually saved, according to our view of its special destination, than according to the views entertained by those who differ from us? The atonement *per se*, according to the Arminian view, does nothing more for all men than, according to the Calvinistic view, it does even for the non-elect. It does not *per se* secure their actual salvation, but merely renders salvation attainable by them on condition of their repenting and believing the gospel. Now certainly it cannot be said to do less than this according to the doctrine of the most decided Calvinists, who hold, in the words of Owen, that "Christ's oblation of himself was every way suffi-

cient to redeem and save all the sinners in the world, and to satisfy the justice of God for all the sins of all mankind," and that if there were a thousand worlds the gospel of Christ might on this ground be preached to them all—there being enough in Christ for the salvation of them all, if so be they will derive virtue from him by faith.'

In reply to the not less reckless charge some have preferred, that they who hold this doctrine teach 'that scarcely anybody can be saved,' and so drive many into the opposite error of universalism, I say that Calvinists have good cause to feel amazed that any one having claims to scholarship and candour should ever have preferred it. In none of the authorised formularies of the Calvinistic Churches with which I am acquainted is any foundation given for such a caricature of the system or for putting a narrower meaning on the 'some' who are to be saved than on the 'others' who are not. The nearest approach to it I remember occurs in the Confession of Lord Bacon, who was free from any taint of Presbyterianism or Puritanism, and he merely uses, to describe the elect, the scriptural epithet 'little flock.' It is not from among them only that occasional discourses have come on the fewness of the saved. They are quite as much entitled as the representatives of any other school to speak of those who shall ultimately

be gathered into one, under Christ their head, as a great multitude which no man could number, of all nations and kindreds and people and tongues, and to hold, as some of the most pronounced of them in our own day have avowed they do, that the number of the saved will at last far exceed that of the lost. With respect to the charge that Calvinism has tended greatly to foster Rationalism and Socinianism, one might at once admit that these have been the errors to which Protestantism in every form has been most liable, just as credulity and superstition have been the besetting sins of the Roman and Anglo-catholic schools. And yet such an one need not hesitate to affirm that it is not the case that Calvinism has been in any special sense chargeable with or responsible for these erroneous tendencies. In the age of the Reformation their chief advocates were found among the Spaniards and Italians who had joined the Reformers, and Spain and Italy were just the two countries in which the theology of Augustine was least in repute and living power. In the following century it was not among the Calvinists of France, Switzerland, or Britain, but among the Remonstrants of Holland, that the tendency to rationalising and Socinianising modes of thought first markedly showed itself. It spread to many of the Lutheran Churches of Germany before it seriously injured the Calvinistic Churches. It affected the Church

of England herself before it touched the Nonconformist Churches. In our own day no one not utterly blinded by prejudice will venture to deny that the tendency in question is to be found in Lutheran and Arminian Churches quite as much as in the Calvinistic, in the Church of England herself quite as markedly as in any communion of Scottish or American Presbyterians.

Further, it is asserted that Calvinism has been unfavourable to literature. It may be admitted at once that many of the eminent literary men of the present age are unfavourable to the doctrinal system of Augustine and Calvin, but it must be admitted also that the greater part of them are not more friendly to many of the doctrines which used to be held firmly by Arminians, and in particular to that view of the atonement which has been current among Lutherans and Arminians as well as Calvinists. But literature did not take its origin in the nineteenth century, and Calvinism has contributed its fair share to the cultivation of it. It is admitted that it has had quite its due proportion, and even more than its due proportion of the great preachers who have adorned the Christian Church from the age of Augustine to that of Whitfield, and some of the greatest preachers since Whitfield's time have held and taught its principles. It is admitted also that it has had a few poets and hymn-writers. The father of English poetry has

at least spoken of it more respectfully than some modern divines:—

> 'But I can ne bolt it to the bren,
> As can the holy doctor St. Austen,
> Or Boece or the bishop Bradwardin.'

But in his day perhaps it was still a half truth, though in ours it is said to have become wholly false. Then, should he be left out who wrote:

> 'Some I have chosen *of peculiar grace*,
> Elect above the rest; so is my will:'

and should not the names of Doddridge, Newton, Cowper, and Bonar be added to those of Toplady and Watts, if what it has done for hymnology is to be fairly weighed? It is admitted it has given us one religious allegory; it might have been admitted that it had given us two at least, for the *Holy War* of Bunyan is only inferior in pathos and spiritual power to his *Pilgrim's Progress*. And before it is urged to its disparagement that it has not given us more books of this class, let any other school be named which has given as many of equal merit, and which have been as richly blessed. In practical divinity and treatises which appeal to the heart and conscience as well as to the intellect it is admitted that Calvinism is rich, and in our own language there are no treatises can be named which, in their power of rousing the careless, encouraging the doubting, and cheering the desponding, deserve to be set alongside of Baxter's

Call to the Unconverted and his *Saints' Everlasting Rest*, and Bunyan's *Jerusalem Sinner Saved;* and notwithstanding all his individualism, the former as well as the latter sides with Calvin in regard to the doctrine of predestination and many of the other articles of his creed. Then, as has been already hinted, Lord Bacon, Hooker, Ussher, Hall, Leighton, and Sibbes were Calvinists, and it is so far from being true that Calvinism has been unfavourable to literature in Britain that on the contrary it may be affirmed that if the names of all who were Calvinists were struck out of the list of her worthies, the Church of England herself would find the number of the great names which adorn her annals seriously curtailed.

What has been asserted by some of Calvinism in general has been affirmed by others of Scottish Calvinism in particular. The account I have already given of the works of its theologians in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries will I hope suffice to show that during these ages it held its own among the Reformed Churches, and in proportion to its size contributed its fair share, and somewhat more, to the elucidation and defence of a moderate Calvinism, and bore the heaviest share of the contest for the autonomy of the Church, the Presbyterian constitution of its governing councils, and the rights of its ordinary members in the choice of their pastors. Leighton, the only one of

its prelates in the seventeenth century who gained a name and fame for himself as a theologian, passed his happiest days as a minister of its Presbyterian Church; and most of those discourses which charm us still, and which were treasured in many a humble Presbyterian household ere yet they had come to be so generally valued elsewhere, were preached from the pulpits or delivered from the chair of Divinity in our Covenanting Church. In the eighteenth century the literary fame of the leaders, lay as well as clerical, of the national Church of Scotland is universally acknowledged, and the contributions made to theological literature in an untheological age by a single Scottish divine—Dr. Campbell of Aberdeen—by his Dissertation on Miracles, his Lectures on Ecclesiastical History, and his *opus magnum* on the Gospels, were such as many larger Churches in that century might have been proud of. Then in the same century there arose or came to maturity a school of history and philosophy which added greatly to our country's fame. Its chief ornaments were ministers, preachers or elders of the national Church, and Sir William Hamilton, the greatest ornament of that school in our own times, expressed himself far more respectfully regarding its Calvinistic theology than many have the assurance to do who have not a tithe of his learning, insight, and speculative power. He had been alienated not

from Calvinism but from what he held was a misrepresentation of it. 'He regarded Calvinism,' his biographer tells us, 'as the more philosophical system,' and spoke 'with the highest respect of its author,' but 'he protested against its alliance with [Edwards's system of] philosophical necessity—a protest in some measure shared by his strenuous antagonist Principal Cunningham.' At present Biblical and historical studies show quite as decided a tendency to revive in Scotland as in England. A Scottish publisher, by naturalising among us the best products of German thought, has done more to promote such studies than any of his brethren in Britain. Scottish scholars have held their own in the Jerusalem Chamber in the revision of our venerable translation of the Scriptures, and especially of the Old Testament. Dr. Pusey himself did not disdain, for the elucidation of the Chaldee of Daniel, to call in the aid of a Scottish scholar, whose untimely removal from the chair he was so peculiarly fitted to adorn we all deeply regret.

The charges I have still to mention are of minor importance.[1] The first of them is the assertion, so often and confidently propounded of late, that the Confession represents the creation of the world as having taken place in six 'natural or literal days,' which almost all orthodox divines now grant that

[1] This, somewhat abridged, appears in paper named, p. 377.

it did not. But the whole ground for the assertion is furnished by the words 'natural or literal' which the objectors themselves insert or assume. The authors of the Confession, as Dr. A. A. Hodge has well observed,[1] simply repeat the statements of Scripture in almost identical terms, and any interpretation that is fairly applicable to such passages of Scripture as Gen. ii. 3 and Exodus xx. 11, is equally applicable to the words of the Confession. It is quite true, as he has shown, that since the Confession was composed, many facts of science previously unknown have been brought to light respecting the changes through which our globe and probably the stellar universe had passed before the establishment of the present order of things, and that new arguments have thus been furnished against interpreting the days mentioned in the above passages of Scripture as literal days. But it is a mistake to suppose that this method of interpreting the days in these passages originated in modern times, and was altogether unknown to the men who framed our Confession. To prove it a mistake it is not necessary to have recourse to the ingenious conjecture, that some of the Cambridge men in the Assembly may have been acquainted with the manuscript work of Dean Colet, preserved in their archives, and only given to the public in our own time, in which the figura-

[1] *Commentary on the Confession of Faith*, p. 82.

tive interpretation of the days of creation is maintained.[1] There is no lack of evidence, in works published before the meeting of the Assembly, and familiar to several of its members, to show that the figurative interpretation had long before Dean Colet's time commended itself to several eminent scholars and divines with whose works members of the Assembly were acquainted. If there was one Jewish scholar with whose writings such men as Lightfoot, Selden, Gataker, Seaman, and Coleman were more familiar than another, it was Philo of Alexandria; and Philo has not hesitated to characterise it as 'rustic simplicity, to imagine that the world was created in six days, or, indeed, in any clearly defined space of time.' Augustine,[2] the great Latin doctor, with whose works several of the Westminster divines were far better acquainted than most of their successors, in his literal Commentary on Genesis, maintains that the days of the creation-week were far different from (*longé dispares*), and again, very unlike to (*multum impares*) those that now are in the earth. Procopius, a Greek writer not unknown to some of the Westminster divines, teaches that the number of six days was assumed not as a mark of actual time, but as a manner of teaching the order

[1] Colet's *Letters to Radulphus on the Mosaic Account of the Creation*, with translation and notes by J. H. Lupton. 1876.

[2] Migne's edition of Augustine, *De Genesi ad literam*, iv. 27.

of creation; while in certain commentaries in that age, attributed to the Venerable Bede, and largely read in England, though now deemed spurious, a similar opinion is said to be found.[1] The figurative interpretation therefore of the six days of creation is no make-shift of hard-pressed theologians in the nineteenth century. It was held by respectable scholars and divines, from early times, and was known to the framers of our Confession; and had they meant deliberately to exclude it they would have written not six days, but six natural or literal days.

The next topic to which I advert is the charge made against the Confession of teaching that not all infants dying in infancy, but only an elect portion of them, are saved. Here again scrimp justice has been dealt out to it. Its exact words are, 'Elect infants, dying in infancy, are regenerated and saved by Christ through the Spirit.' This statement, it has been averred, necessarily implies that there are non-elect infants dying in infancy who are not 'regenerated and saved.' It does not seem to me when fairly interpreted to imply any such thing. It might have been susceptible of such an interpretation had it been allowed to stand in the form which it appears to have borne in the

[1] Most of these testimonies are referred to, and the opinion they express is admitted to be *probabilis*, in the sense his sect used that term, by Sixtus Senensis in his *Bibliotheca Sancta*, p. 422.

draft first brought in to the Assembly—'elect OF infants,'[1] not elect infants. But the very fact that the form of expression was changed shows how anxious the divines intrusted with the methodising of the Confession were to guard against pronouncing dogmatically on questions on which neither Scripture nor the Reformed Churches had definitely pronounced. The statement occurs, it is important to notice, not in the chapter treating of predestination, but in the chapter treating of effectual calling; and is meant, not to define the proportion of infants dying in infancy who shall be saved, but to assert the great truths, that even they are not exempt from the consequences of the fall, but are by nature every one of them in the *massa perditionis;* that they can only be separated from it, and saved, by the electing love of the Father, the atoning work of the Son, and the renewing of the Holy Ghost; and that they, however as yet incapable of the exercise of reason and faith, may by the Holy Spirit be regenerated and made meet for the inheritance of the saints in light. As Dr. Hodge has briefly and clearly expressed it:[2] 'The phrase "elect infants" is precise and fit for its purpose. It is certainly revealed that none either adult or infant is saved except on the ground of sovereign election—that is, all salvation for the

[1] *Minutes of Westminster Assembly*, p. 162, Sess. 534.
[2] Hodge on the *Confession of Faith*, pp. 174, 175.

human race is pure grace. It is not positively revealed that all infants are elect, but we are left for many reasons to indulge a highly probable hope that such is the fact. The Confession affirms what is certainly revealed, and leaves that which revelation has not decided to remain without the suggestion of a positive opinion upon one side or the other.' In historical vindication of this interpretation of their meaning, I deem it only necessary to refer to the judgment of Davenant and the other English divines at the Synod of Dort, who were the precursors and teachers of the leading English divines of the Assembly. The Arminians had maintained that, as all infants dying in infancy were undoubtedly saved, there could not be said to be any election, so far as they were concerned. The English, though personally not much in advance of their brethren on the Continent, gave special prominence in their reply to the statement that, even granting the premises of the Arminians, the conclusions drawn from them were by no means legitimate or necessary. Election and preterition, they said, had respect to the whole mass of fallen humanity, not to certain separate divisions of it according to age or circumstances, and that though a certain number of infants dying in infancy might not be separated from or elected out of a certain number also dying in infancy and not elected, yet if all were separated from the

common mass of mankind sinners, and bound up in the bundle of life with Christ, that was quite sufficient to constitute an election of them, and to warrant such an expression as elect infants dying in infancy. *Ad rationem electionis divinæ sive ponendam sive tollendam circumstantia ætatis est quiddam impertinens.... Fac, igitur, omnes infantes servari ne uno quidem præterito, tamen quia electio et preteritio respicit massam non ætatem, licet non e numero infantium, tamen e communi massa hominum peccatorum segregati sunt quod ad electionis rationem constituendam sufficit.*[1] Few of these divines, or of their successors at Westminster, had probably, in personal opinion, advanced as far as good Bishop Hooper, who, as I told you in a previous Lecture, said, 'It is ill-done to condemn the infants of Christians that die without baptism, of whose salvation by the Scriptures we be assured. . . . I would likewise judge well of the infants of the infidels who have none other sin in them but original... It is not against the faith of a Christian man to say that Christ's death and passion extendeth as far for the salvation of innocents, as Adam's sin made all his posterity liable to condemnation.' But the best of them had come to adopt the first part of his opinion (which was more than many high churchmen had then done), and from reverence for him and others whom they loved, to

[1] *Acta Synodi Dordrechtana*, p. 499, 4to editio.

refrain from pronouncing positively against the second.

The last topic to which I shall advert as having been quite as much misunderstood as either of the preceding, is the concluding statement in the same chapter: 'Much less can men, not professing the Christian religion, be saved in any other way, be they ever so diligent to frame their lives according to the light of nature and the law of the religion they do profess; and to assert and maintain that they may, is very pernicious and to be detested.' This is a slight softening down of a statement made in more extreme form in the English Articles,[1] and in some of the other Reformed Confessions, and perhaps the Baptists somewhat improved it in 1677 when, under the guidance of Bunyan, they changed the words 'not professing the Christian religion', into 'not receiving the Christian religion,' to make it more clear that they meant the statement to be limited to those who had had the Christian religion tendered to them, but had refused to receive it, and continued obstinately to live by the light of nature and the law of the religion they professed. That, I think, was what the Westminster divines also had chiefly in view (I will not, in remembrance of certain questions

[1] 'They also are to be had *accursed* that presume to say,' etc.—*Article XVIII.* 'We utterly abhor the *blasphemy* of them that affirm,' etc.—*Scottish Confession* of 1560. 'Abominamur impiissimam vesaniam.'—*Conf. Helv. Post.*

in the larger Catechism, say exclusively in view), to bear their testimony, in common with other Reformed Churches, against the Spiritualists or the Pantheists of the school of Servetus, as well as against the Deists and Free-thinkers among themselves, who, living in the full blaze of the light of revelation, preferred nature's twilight, and despised the riches of God's goodness and forbearance and long-suffering. They who hold that the words of the Confession were meant to have a wider application should at least do its framers the justice to remember that all they do absolutely define is, that the persons spoken of cannot be saved by the light of nature, or the law of the religion they profess; and that when they go on in a subsequent chapter to define the Church of visible professors and outward ordinances, all that they venture to affirm is, that out of it there is no '*ordinary* possibility of salvation,' not that the salvation-bringing grace of God is never manifested outside the portals of 'the house of his continual residence,' or otherwise than through its ordinances. Even a Scottish divine, more than half a century before, in a catechism which circulated in England as well as in Scotland, had in answer to the question, *How is a man framed and made able to serve God?* inserted the following statement: 'By the effectual working of God's Spirit in him, *extraordinarily and without ordinary means*, howbeit but seldom in a Reformed Church,

and ordinarily by ordinary means at all times in a Reformed Church.'[1] That is, I suppose, where a church had been planted, and brought into harmony with the requirements of the word of God, the influences of the Spirit were ordinarily (though not even then exclusively) communicated through the channel of its ordinances; but where a church had not been set up or had fallen from pristine purity, the Spirit of the Lord was not restrained from working extraordinarily and without ordinary means. Ball, whose treatise on the Covenant of Grace was published in 1645, and recommended by several members of the Assembly, affirms (p. 47): 'We know God is not tied to the means, nor do we absolutely exclude every particular man from the grace of the covenant who is excluded from the covenant outwardly administered, but we cannot think they shall universally be partakers of the grace of the covenant.'

Yet once more, let me repeat, that all I contend for is that the Westminster divines have not pronounced against the more liberal views on such subjects which modern Calvinists have commonly adopted; not that they themselves generally held them, but that they knew of them, and knew them to be tolerated or favoured by several whom they loved and honoured for the good service they had done in their day and generation, and that they were content to give forth no binding determina-

[1] *Galloway's Catechism.*

tion in regard to them. Their main object, as I said in the outset, was to set forth in their Confession the great principles of the faith common to the Reformed or Calvinistic Churches, without exalting into principles points on which these Churches had not thought fit to decide. And I believe that in adherence to their creed and method lies our only hope of a United Anglo-Saxon Presbyterianism—Calvinistic yet comprehensive, strong yet forbearing in the use of its strength, earnest and untiring in self-sacrificing Christian work, orderly yet free in its worship.

It is hardly possible for a minister of the national Church to conclude a lecture on this subject without reference to the very remarkable paper on it which appeared in *Macmillan's Magazine* for August 1881, and was the last literary labour of one whom even those who most differed from him had learned to love and esteem. Dean Stanley, more than any Englishman of our day, had striven to understand our ways and to reciprocate the warm regard in which we held him, and in this the last paper which proceeded from his pen we have, with all its defects, a generous and valuable testimony to the merits of that Confession to which the Presbyterian Churches, under scorn and obloquy and misrepresentation, have so resolutely clung. While others who have never managed to rid themselves of early *idola specus*

about it, can hardly speak with patience of the representation it gives of the character and purposes of God, this 'eirenic' divine does not hesitate to vindicate its teaching on the latter as in substantial accord with that of his own (and he might have added still more of the Irish) Church, and not unreasonable in itself; while of its teaching on the former subject he affirms that the glowing words it adds to the definition of God[1] in the English (he might have said too in the Irish) Article 'have no parallel' in those or 'any of the earlier creeds.' He speaks in terms of like admiration of the chapter relating to Christ the Mediator and his mediatorial work, and of 'the much larger and nobler description of the sacred volume' in Chapter I. 'than is to be found in the Tridentine or the Anglican Confession.' And from a different point of view from that I have thought fit to take, he finds something to say for the language it uses in speaking of elect infants and of those who do not profess the Christian religion. The three questionable statements to which he is disposed to take objection are, as himself admits, of inferior moment, and will not generally in Scotland be regarded as very questionable by those who are

[1] 'Most loving, gracious, merciful, long-suffering, abundant in goodness and truth, forgiving iniquity, transgression, and sin; the rewarder of them that diligently seek Him, and withal most just and terrible in His judgments, hating all sin, and who will by no means clear the guilty.'

not inclined to question much more. The first refers to the assertion of the autonomy of the Church, which he admits is made in moderate terms, and in regard to which Scotchmen generally still think that England has more to learn than they have. The second relates to the passage which by implication condemns marriage with a deceased wife's sister. And if there is nothing in the English Articles on that subject, the principle on which the condemnation is based is as firmly rooted in English as in Scottish law, and far more closely bound up with certain prominent events in the history of its Reformation. The third statement to which he takes objection is that which affirms the Pope to be the 'man of sin.' This however is taken from the Irish Articles of 1615, and if it is not in the English Articles there is no doubt it is in the Homilies[1] to which the Articles refer, so that not even in regard to these is there material difference between the position of the clergy in the two Churches save in the matter of the autonomy of the Church, and in regard to that many of the clergy of the Church he adorned, as they think of the freedom we enjoy in the meeting of our courts and the exercise of our discipline, would be much more ready to say, 'Happy is the people that is in such a case' than 'God, I thank thee that I am not as this Presbyterian.'

[1] *On Peril of Idolatry*, pt. 3; *against Wilful Rebellion*, pt. 6.

LECTURE XII.

THE ASSEMBLY'S CATECHISMS, LARGER AND SHORTER.

My last Lecture was devoted to an account of the Confession of Faith which was prepared by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, and is still accepted by almost all orthodox Presbyterians of the Anglo-Saxon race as their confession or chief doctrinal symbol. I showed you how carefully it was framed on the lines already laid down by the best British divines, and especially by that prince of theologians, Ussher of Armagh,—to whom his fellow-churchmen of subsequent times have failed to render the homage he deserves for his great learning and his firm attachment to Augustinianism and our common Protestantism. It now only remains that before concluding these historical sketches I should give you some account of the Catechisms of the Assembly, and especially of the Shorter Catechism, which, with Baxter, I regard as, in several respects, the most remarkable of their symbolical books, the matured fruit of all their consultations and debates, the quintessence

of that system of truth in which they desired to train English-speaking youth, and faithful training in which, I believe, has done more to keep alive on both sides of the Atlantic reverence for the old theology than all other human instrumentalities whatever.

Attention is only now beginning to be given in somewhat like adequate measure to the structure and composition of these catechisms. The composition of the Confession of Faith has been minutely examined, and something like general agreement as to the sources from which it has been taken has been arrived at. But no similar service has yet been rendered in regard to the catechisms, and I do not see how I can more appropriately bring these Lectures to a close than by bringing a humble contribution to supply this *desideratum.*

It may fairly be said of the catechisms framed on the system of the doctrinal Puritans, and published in England between the years 1600 and 1645, that their name is legion. Perhaps no other so convincing proof can be cited of the great influence they were exercising throughout these years of trial and oppression, and also of the manner in which they came to acquire, retain, and increase it, as that which is furnished by the floods of different catechisms and different editions of the same catechism,—often five or six, in several

cases ten or twelve, and in some cases from twenty to thirty editions being poured forth from the London press in rapid succession. Among the members of the Assembly there were at least twelve or fourteen who had prepared and published catechisms of their own years before the Assembly met, as Twisse, White, Gataker, Gouge, Wilkinson, Wilson, Walker, Palmer, Cawdrey, Sedgewick, Byfield, and probably Newcomen, Lyford, Hodges, and Foxcroft, to say nothing of Cartwright, Perkins, Ussher, Rogers, and Ball, who somewhat earlier had prepared the way for them, and whom several of them can be shown to have more or less followed in their plan or in details.

The first step towards the preparation of a catechism may be said to have been taken in December 1643,[1] when Messrs. Marshall, Palmer, Goodwin, Young, and Herle, with the Scottish Commissioners, were appointed a committee to draw up a directory for public worship. That was intended to include a directory for catechising, if not a catechism, and the preparation of that paper was intrusted to Mr. Herbert Palmer.[1] Notwithstanding his great reputation as a catechist, his paper, as first presented, does not appear to have come up to the expectation of the Scottish Commissioners. Their chronicler tells us, 'Mr.

[1] *Baillie's Letters*, vol. ii. p. 118.
[2] *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 140.

Marshall's part anent preaching, and Mr. Palmer's about catechising, though the one be the best preacher, and the other the best catechist in England, yet we no ways like it; so their papers are passed in (*i.e.* into) our hands to frame them according to our mind.'[1] This was written on 2d April 1644, and on 21st November of the same year it is briefly recorded that 'the catechise is drawn up, and I think shall not take up much time,' and again, on 26th December, that 'we have near[ly] also agreed in private on a draught of catechism, whereupon, when it comes into public, we expect little debate.' The natural inference from these notices seems to be that this catechism was either some one which had been drafted by themselves in terms of the remit made to them —the catechism published in 1644 for the benefit of both kingdoms, or that of Rutherfurd, still extant in MS.—and which they were prematurely counting on getting the committee and the Assembly to accept without much discussion, or else some modification of Mr. Palmer's directory or catechism, such as we shall find reason to believe they were willing, after consultation with their friends in the north, to accept, at least in its method and principles. Before this date the printed Minutes[2] of the Assembly show that

[1] *Baillie's Letters*, vol. ii. p. 148.
[2] Page 12, 2d December 1644.

Messrs. Marshall, Tuckney, Newcomen, and Hill had been added to Mr. Palmer 'for hastening the catechism,' and that on 7th February 1644-5 Messrs. Reynolds and Delmé were added,—of course in conjunction with the Scotch Commissioners, who claimed the right to be on all committees appointed to carry out any part of the uniformity covenanted for between the Churches.

Among the catechisms which I examined cursorily in 1866 in the British Museum and in Sion College Library was one bearing the title, *An Endeavour of making Christian Religion easie*, and published at Cambridge in 1640 without the author's name, but which, from Dr. Wallis' preface to his *Explanation of the Shorter Catechism*, I concluded was probably Palmer's. In it each of the principal answers is, by repetition of part of the question, made a complete and independent proposition, and these principal answers are broken down in a peculiar way in a series of subordinate questions, all capable of being answered by the monosyllables Aye or No. It did not then strike me as so similar to the Westminster Catechisms in their ultimate form as it does now, and not knowing then what we know (now that the Minutes have been transcribed from the almost illegible original) of the successive stages by which this ultimate form was reached, I had almost forgotten all about it, till five years ago, when, as I ruminated

over the notes of a very unintelligible debate in the *Minutes*, this fact came back to my remembrance as one which might enable me to cast light on it. It was not my good fortune, however, to get back to the British Museum till November 1879, and before that time my attention, as well as that of others, had been called by an Edinburgh bookseller to what is said by Dr. Belfrage on the history of the Shorter Catechism prefixed to the second edition of his *Practical Exposition of the Assembly's Shorter Catechism.* This history was not contained in the earlier edition of the book. Dr. Belfrage appears to have seen Palmer's Catechism, and to have compared it with the Assembly's, but his conclusion regarding it coincided rather with my first impressions. He states, however, that M'Crie, on the ground of the passage quoted above from Baillie, was disposed to come to the conclusion that 'Mr. Palmer was concerned in the first draft of the Catechism.' My friend Dr. Briggs, who also saw Palmer's treatise when in London in 1879, early in the following year gave an interesting account of its relations to the Shorter Catechism in the paper to which I referred in a former lecture.[1] I have preferred to wait till I had leisure to make a further study of all the contemporary Puritan catechisms, and might venture to speak of them with fuller knowledge.

[1] In *Presbyterian Review*, for January 1880.

I have little doubt that the paper which Palmer gave in to the Committee and to the Assembly in 1645, and which occasioned the debate to which I have referred, was substantially the same with the preface to his catechism. It details the method which he had himself made use of in his catechisings, and which many modern keys (as they are called) to the Shorter Catechism have borrowed from him or from Dr. John Wallis, who, without loss of time, applied the system of his revered master to the new catechism which the Assembly ultimately agreed on. The Scotch Commissioners, when they first heard this paper, were not satisfied with it; and their impartiality therefore is the more highly to be commended in regard to it. They had themselves in the meantime brought out 'the New Catechism according to the form of the Kirk of Scotland, published for the benefit of both Kingdoms,' and perhaps in the hope that it might be adopted as the common catechism. Yet when they had had time to consider the subject more deliberately, and advise with their friends in Scotland regarding it, they proved in the debate to which I have referred, if not the only, certainly the most prominent advocates of Palmer's method and peculiar form of catechism. This debate occurred on the 13th of May 1645, probably just after the fifth edition of Palmer's little treatise had appeared. His efforts on that occasion were directed mainly

to securing the Assembly's approval of his *method* of catechising rather than of the detailed *contents* of his catechism. Yet, as I read the brief minutes of the debate, his efforts were not crowned with success. The Scotch Commissioners Rutherfurd and Gillespie spoke warmly in favour of his method of catechising, and of the practice he adopted of making each principal answer a distinct and complete proposition, and breaking down the principal answers by subordinate questions which could all be answered by Aye or No. His personal friend Delmé gave the plan a sort of general support, but all the other speakers, and among them Messrs. Marshall and Reynolds, two of the most prominent members of his committee, while frankly acknowledging his great skill and success as a catechist and the good that might come from ministers in their catechisings availing themselves of his method, resolutely objected to have these subordinate questions and answers reduced to rigid form and inserted in the public catechism.[1]

[1] *Minutes of Westminster Assembly*, pp. 91-94—*Mr. Marshall:* 'I confess that the pains which that brother that brought in the Report [hath taken] is both accepted with God and hath been blessed by him. . . . But I crave leave to give a few dissenting thoughts to the method propounded.' These were in substance that people would come to get up the subordinate answers by rote as well as the principal ones, that good might come of the catechiser himself breaking up the principal answers in the method proposed, but not from their being inserted into the catechism and learned by rote. He approved, however, of commending all this in the preface to the catechism. *Mr. Reynolds:* 'We all

One can hardly contemplate without a shudder how near we were to missing the most concise, nervous, and severely logical catechism in our language had Mr. Palmer and the Scotch Commissioners at that time carried their point and got these subordinate questions and answers inserted in the catechism. I do not think that was further pressed on the Assembly after this date,[1] but Mr. Palmer continued to be so persuaded of its excellence and importance that he determined with himself that he would print upon his own method the catechism which the Assembly should ultimately adopt, and, departing to his rest ere that had been completed, he left his purpose, as a sacred legacy, to be executed by his young friend Wallis. He accordingly in 1648 published that explanation of the Shorter Catechism on the model of Palmer's

agree that way which is most for ingenerating knowledge is most to be used. But that this way before you is the best way I cannot discern. [If] you resolve it shall be but a directory, then how shall those Ayes or Noes be of use? . . . You will obtain your end as well by setting it down in the preface to the catechism.' Seaman says there were two questions before them, the one relating to a catechism, the other to the method of catechising, and that the two should be kept distinct, and the minister not too strictly tied up as to the latter. Palmer was somewhat dissatisfied with the result of the debate, and said that if he had not a peculiar interest in the matter he would have spoken more upon it.

[1] Baillie, however, says at a later date: 'We had passed a quarter of the catechise and thought to have made short work with the rest; but they are fallen into such mistakes and endless janglings about both the method and the matter that all think it will be longsome work.'—*Letters*, vol. ii. p. 416.

treatise, on which several so-called *keys* to it have in our own day been based.

It was on 1st August 1645 that a further report was presented by the committee to the Assembly. The interval may possibly have been employed in trying to put the materials of Palmer's Catechism into more acceptable shape, or to bring it nearer to the Scotch one (which, though more brief, is framed on the same plan), and to disencumber it of all the subordinate questions to the formal insertion of which objection had been taken. The only hints which the Minutes supply are that there was a debate as to whether the Creed should be expressed and probably made, as it was both in the Scotch and in Palmer's, and several contemporary catechisms, the basis of the exposition of the Articles of Faith, or whether these articles should be taken up in the systematic order more usually adopted in strictly Puritan catechisms. There was also a debate concerning God, which was one of the first articles in all the catechisms of the period, whether they were framed on the basis of the Apostles' Creed or of the commonly received system of theology. But I conclude that even yet the committee was not altogether of one mind,[1] and that it was on this account that, after debate on 20th August, it was reconstituted, and Mr. Palmer, Dr. Stanton, and

[1] *Minutes*, p. 124, 125.

Mr. Young were appointed to draw up the whole draft of the catechism with all convenient speed. Either, however, they did not proceed very speedily or they met with unexpected difficulties in their undertaking, and, on 22d July 1646, Mr. Ward was adjoined to them. It was not till 11th September 1646 that their report was called for, nor till the afternoon of Monday 14th September that it was presented; and from that date on to the 4th January 1646-7 it was from time to time taken up, and passed as far as the fourth commandment.[1] On 1st December, however, before much of it had passed, a large addition was again made to the committee, viz., Messrs. Whitaker, Nye, and Byfield, and 'the brethren who had been intrusted with the methodising of the Confession of Faith,' viz., Messrs. Reynolds, Herle, Newcomen, Arrowsmith, and Tuckney; and probably it was in consequence of these changes on the committee that on the 14th of January, on a motion by Mr. Vines, it was ordered 'that the committee for the catechism do prepare a draught of *two* catechisms, one more large and another more brief, in the preparation of which they are to have an eye to the Confession of Faith and the *matter* of the catechism already begun,'[2] or, as the Scotch Commissioners report it in a letter to the

[1] *Minutes*, pp. 281-318.

[2] *Minutes*, p. 321; also Baillie's *Letters*, vol. ii. p. 379.

Commission of their own Assembly, which bears unmistakeable evidence of being from the hand of Rutherfurd: 'The Assembly of Divines, after they had made some progress in the catechism which was brought in to them from their committee, and having found it very difficult to satisfy themselves or the world with one form of catechism or to dress up milk and meat both in one dish, have, after second thoughts, recommitted the work that two forms of catechism may be prepared, one more exact and comprehensive; another more easie and short for new beginners.'[1] The catechism which had already been so far passed was unquestionably still on the basis of Palmer's, but a large portion of the detailed historical explanations of the second part of the creed, relating to the birth, life, death, and resurrection of our Lord, was omitted, and in the exposition of the commandments another basis is already plainly discernible, while a more pronounced Calvinistic character is given to the doctrinal teaching. The variations from and additions to individual answers can in general be still traced to other contempor-

[1] MS. Minutes of Commission. To the same effect, Gillespie says to the Assembly in Edinburgh in August 1647, that the divines have found great difficulty how to make it full, such as might be expected from an Assembly, and, upon the other part, how to condescend to the capacity of the common and unlearned. Therefore they are a-making two distinct catechisms—a short and plain one for these, and a larger one for those of understanding.' Appendix to Baillie's *Letters*, vol. iii. p. 452.

ary catechisms, and the more important of them to those of Ussher, on whose catechetical manuals, as previously on his Articles of Religion, they seem to me to take pleasure in falling back, especially on all cardinal questions. Even this partially passed recension of a catechism follows his and more strictly Puritan treatises rather than Palmer's, in placing in the forefront the question and answer as to the rule of faith, and in inserting another as to the decrees of God; and it is to the same source we have to trace the questions and answers as to the covenants of works and grace, the prophetical, priestly, and kingly offices of the Redeemer, and the effectual calling, justification, adoption, and sanctification and perseverance of those who have been made partakers of redemption, and even the detailed and specific statements as to the sinfulness of the estate into which man fell. All these, which make the Westminster Catechisms what they ultimately became, are to be sought outside of Palmer's *Endeavour of making Christian Religion easie*, which the more they tried to adapt it to their purpose, the more they had to alter or supplement it; and all these are to be found in the distinctively Calvinistic catechisms of Ezekiel Rogers, John Ball, William Gouge, M[atthew] N[ewcomen], and, to a considerable extent, in those of Henry Wilkinson and Adoniram Byfield, as well as of Archbishop Ussher,

Of this I deem myself entitled to speak with some confidence, having had the opportunity of carefully comparing the answers in their manuals as well as in Palmer's with the definitions ultimately inserted by the Assembly in one or other of its catechisms.

It was not till after the Scripture proofs for the Confession of Faith were completed that the result of the labours of the reconstituted committee in preparing a Larger Catechism were called for. But, on 15th April 1647, the first portion of them was presented to the Assembly and further portions were from time to time presented and discussed till, on 15th October of the same year, the Larger Catechism was finished, substantially in the shape in which we still have it. The doctrinal part of this manual, as every one who has carefully studied it knows, and as the resolution reconstituting the committee prepares us to expect, is taken to a large extent from the Confession of Faith. The explanation of the ten commandments, and of the duties required and the sins forbidden under each, is largely derived from Ussher's *Body of Divinity*, Newcomen's and Ball's catechisms, and perhaps also from Cartwright's *Body of Divinity* and some of the larger practical treatises of Perkins. The exposition of the Lord's Prayer has been got in part from the same sources, in part also from Attersoll's,

or some other catechism based on Perkins' treatise on the Lord's Prayer, and like it, supplying matter for confession of sin, as well as for prayer more strictly so called, under each of the petitions of the Lord's Prayer. I can enter into particulars as to this derivation or correspondence only in the most cursory way.

The first question or interrogation, which does not seem to have appeared in the former draft of the committee, is taken from the old English translation of Calvin's Catechism, What is the principal and chief end of man's life? The answer to this question may be said to combine the answers to Question 3rd in the Catechisms of Calvin and Ames, 'To have his glory showed forth in us,' and 'in the enjoying of God,' and it may have been taken from them; or the first part may have been taken from Rogers, Ball, or Palmer, and the second from an Italian catechism of the sixteenth century.[1] The second question is one found in several contemporary catechisms, and the answer to it is substantially taken from the Confession of Faith. The third question, which in the former draft had stood apparently at the head,[2] is put here in a somewhat altered shape, and the clause which had there been principal, and again becomes so in the Shorter Catechism, is brought in as subsidiary and thrown to the end of the answer. The next

[1] 'Goder' eternamente Dio.'

[2] *Minutes*, p. 281.

question, relating to the proofs showing that the Scriptures are the word of God, is found in many Puritan catechisms, and the answer is abridged from the Confession of Faith. The question as to what the Scriptures principally or especially teach is found both in Paget's and in Ball's Catechism, and the answer in Ussher's *Principles of Christian Religion.* The next question, What do the Scriptures make known of God? and the answer, are found in analogous forms in Rutherfurd's and some other contemporary manuals. The answer to the question, What is God?[1] had in the former draft been taken from Palmer's work, with the exception that 'perfection,' in the singular, had been changed into 'perfections,' in the plural, as it had been in another catechism published anonymously in the previous year. Here the former description is exchanged for one abridged apparently from Ussher's *Body of Divinity.*[2] The next answer, respecting the properties or attributes of God, was at first distinct from the previous one. Dr. Briggs supposes it may have been got by crushing into one the answers to more than a score of questions in Palmer's treatise and Dr. Matthews' by a somewhat similar condensation of various answers in Ball's larger catechism. But it is simply an abridgment of a paragraph in Chapter II. of the

[1] 'God is a most glorious being, infinite in all perfections.'

[2] 'God is a spirit, infinite in being and perfection.'

Confession of Faith; and the ultimate answer of the Larger Catechism to the question, What is God? was got by joining these two answers into one. The answer to the same question in the Shorter Catechism is composed of the scriptural definition, 'God is a Spirit,' with the incommunicable attributes arranged in the same order as they were by Rogers, but in adjectival form, and the communicable in substantive form almost exactly as they had been given by Egerton.

But time will not admit of my prosecuting this minute comparison further. The doctrinal definitions in the Larger Catechism are, as I have said, in a great measure abridged from the Confession of Faith, and so far as they are not so they may generally be found in a shorter form in Ball's and Newcomen's catechisms, in more diffuse form in Ussher's *Body of Divinity*. The same may be said even more unreservedly of the exposition of the ten commandments and of the Lord's Prayer as concerns Newcomen and Ussher. But one of the most singular and unexpected disclosures brought to light in the recently published Minutes of the Assembly is that, while the first draft of a catechism in 1645 treated first of *credenda*, then of the ten commandments, and so left to the last the means of grace and the Lord's Prayer, and while the Larger Catechism as finally adjusted followed the same order, yet, as

first entered on the Minutes of the Assembly in 1647, it treats of the means of grace or the word, sacraments, and prayer, before it expounds the commandments, in this following the plan of Ball's and some other catechisms, and showing that, if not in details, yet in outline and method, the divines followed some previous manual on the same plan as his—possibly that small one of date 1542, attributed to Calvin,—which, after being long lost, has been brought to light recently by M. Douen, and printed as an appendix to the second volume of his Huguenot Psalter. At least they follow its plan more exactly than that of Ball; and the statement of Baillie, given on page 415, is sufficient to show that the question of *method* continued long to divide them. Their detailed and elaborate answers in the several parts of this catechism are, even when founded on previous treatises, carefully matured expansions of the given answers in these. I shall try to find room in the Appendix (O) for one specimen of this, furnished by the rules they have provided for the exposition of the commandments, on the principles set forth in our Lord's Sermon on the Mount. These rules had been more and more elaborated in the larger Puritan catechisms from the days of Whitaker and Cartwright to those of Ball and Ussher, and were finally brought as near to perfection as they could well be by Dr. Gouge and Mr. Walker—the sub-

committee appointed to prepare them—probably with the help of Dr. Tuckney, who by that time was acting as chairman of the Committee on the Catechism, and is supposed to have taken a very special charge of the exposition of the ten commandments. The Larger Catechism was completed on 15th October 1647, read over in the Assembly on 20th by Dr. Burgess, and on the 22d was carried up to the two Houses[1] by the Prolocutor and the whole Assembly, when thanks were returned to them 'for their great labour and pains in compiling this Long Catechism.' It appears to have been presented in manuscript to the Scottish Assembly in July 1647, so far as it was then completed, and on the 17th September certain alterations desired by their Commission were made at Westminster. It was approved by the General Assembly on 20th July 1648.[2] It was presented with the proofs on 14th April 1648.

The Shorter Catechism was not composed till after the Larger one had been virtually completed, though it perhaps embodies somewhat more of the materials of the earlier manual, which had partially passed the Assembly in 1646. Drs. Belfrage, Hetherington, and the younger M'Crie, relying on Neal's account, have stated that the shorter one was first completed and presented to

[1] Lords' *Journals*, ix. p. 488; Commons' *Journals*, v. p. 340.
[2] Peterkin's *Records of Kirk*, p. 496.

Parliament. But Neal has fallen into the error of overlooking the fact, that the Larger Catechism, without proofs, was presented to Parliament on 22nd October 1647, as well as with proofs on 14th April 1648, while the Shorter Catechism, without proofs, was only sent up on 25th November 1647, and again with proofs on 14th April 1648.[1] The following are the brief notices respecting it found in the Minutes of the Assembly.

On 5th August 1647, it was resolved (p. 408) 'that the Shorter Catechism shall be gone in hand with presently, by a committee now to be chosen,' and ordered that 'the Prolocutor, Mr. Palmer, Dr. Temple, Mr. Lightfoot, Mr. Greene, Mr. Delmy, shall be this committee.' It was to meet the same afternoon, and Mr. Palmer to take care of it, or be its convener. On August 9th, 'a report of the Short Catechism was made by Mr. Palmer, and Mr. Calamy and Mr. Gower were added to the committee.'[2] This is the last occasion in which the Minutes notice the presence of Mr. Palmer in the Assembly, and shortly after this he fell into a serious illness and died. The exact date of his death has not been ascertained even by Dr. Grosart, who has so carefully investigated his history; but by 28th September a successor had been presented to one of the charges held by him. On August 10th 'Dr. Temple made

[1] *Minutes*, pp. 485, 492, 511. [2] *Ibid.* pp. 408-410.

report of the Lesser Catechism.' On September 8th, Mr. Wilson was added to the committee for the catechism, and the same day Mr. Wilson made report of the catechism. On September 16th, a further order was given to proceed with the little catechism. It was not, however, till 19th October 1647, when the Larger Catechism was ready to be presented to the two Houses of Parliament, that orders were given to Messrs. Tuckney,[1] Marshall, and Ward finally to adjust the Shorter one; but no doubt preparation was being made for it during the interval by the committee previously appointed, probably along with Wallis, who ultimately attended the committee as its secretary, and who in all likelihood had been privately assisting his friend Palmer with it during the last weeks of his life.[2] On 21st October the first report from this new committee was brought in by Tuckney, and discussed. Some debate arose as to whether the word 'substance,' or rather the expression 'one in substance,' in the answer to the question, How many persons are there in the Godhead? should be left out. This, we know, was not done, but 'one in substance' was changed into 'the same in substance,' a closer rendering of the Nicene ὁμοούσιος, and the phrase

[1] *Minutes*, p. 485. Cambridge gave him leave of absence.

[2] He was evidently a *protégé* of Palmer and a fellow in the college of which Palmer was master.

'equal in substance, power and glory,' originally used in the Larger Catechism, was changed to the same form as in the Shorter. No further particulars of the debates on this catechism are given in the Minutes, but nothing save formal business was transacted in the Assembly till it had been finished. On 8th November, it is recorded that the commandments, Lord's Prayer, and creed were added to the catechism, and on the following day that Mr. Rutherfurd took his leave of the Assembly, receiving the thanks of the Assembly through the Prolocutor for the great assistance he had rendered to it in its labours and debates.[1] On the same day, Mr. Burgess and Mr. Cawdrey were added to the committee, along with Wallis, for the review of the catechism. All was again reviewed by the committee, and discussed by the Assembly before the 25th November. The brief statement originally prepared as a preface was appended as a postscript. Messrs. Nye and Reynor dissented from the insertion of the creed at the end of the catechism, but possibly the terms

[1] *Minutes*, pp. 487, 488. On 15th October, when the completion of the Larger Catechism was reported, Mr. Rutherfurd moved, and the Assembly ordered, 'that it be recorded in the scribes' books that the Assembly hath enjoyed the assistance of the honourable reverend and learned commissioners from the Church of Scotland, in the work of the Assembly during all the time of the debating and perfecting the four things mentioned in the Covenant, viz., the Directory for Worship, the Confession of Faith, Form of Church-Government, and Catechism.'—*Ibid.* p. 484.

of the postscript just referred to, and the explanation added some days later as to the sense in which the Article 'he descended into hell' was to be understood, may have satisfied their scruples.[1] Though in Scotland, as elsewhere, this catechism has been, and deservedly so, the most popular of all the productions of the Assembly, it was the one with the elaboration of which the Scotch Commissioners had least to do. Henderson had left and had died before the Confession was completed. Baillie left immediately after it was finished, and took down with him to Scotland the first copy of the Confession, without proofs. Gillespie, after repeated petitions to be allowed to return home, received permission to leave in May 1647, when the proofs for the Confession had been completed but while the debates on the Larger Catechism were still going on, and the answer to the question What is God?—with which his name has been traditionally associated—had not as yet been adjusted for that Catechism, much less for the Shorter one.[2]

[1] *Minutes*, pp. 490, 492.

[2] Even three months after he left London all that he was able to report to the Scottish Assembly respecting the catechisms was that the divines 'have had no time yet to do anything in the latter, but here is the copy of the greater, *which is almost complete*.' The only instance in which we can be very sure that he has left his mark on the Confession is that (in ch. xxi. *Miscellany Questions*) pointed out some years ago by Professor Candlish:

'The heavenliness of the matter, the efficacy of the doctrine, The Scripture is known to be indeed the word of God by the

Even Rutherfurd had been seized with a fit of home-sickness, and wrote that he did not think the elaboration of this catechism of sufficient importance to detain him from his college and his flock at St. Andrews. At any rate, though persuaded to remain till it had passed, so to speak, the first reading, he does not seem to have left his distinctive mark on it. Not the faintest trace of that wealth of homely imagery, which enriches the MS. catechism attributed to him, is to be found in the Assembly's Shorter Catechism. From first to last, it appears to me in its clear, condensed, and at times almost frigidly logical definitions, to give unmistakeable evidence of its having passed

the majesty of the style, the consent of all the parts, the scope of the whole (which is to give all glory to God), the full discovery it makes of the only way of man's salvation, the many other incomprehensible excellencies and the entire perfection thereof, are arguments whereby it doth abundantly manifest itself to be the word of God.'—*Confession of Faith*, ch. i. § v.

beams of divine authority which it hath in itself, . . . such as the heavenliness of the matter, the majesty of the style, the irresistible power over the conscience, the general scope to abase man, and to exalt God; nothing driven at but God's glory and man's salvation, . . . the supernatural mysteries revealed therein, which could never have entered into the reason of man, the marvellous consent of all parts and passages (though written by divers and several penmen), even where there is some appearance of difference, . . . these and the like are characters and marks which evidence the Scriptures to be the word of God.

through the alembic of Dr. Wallis, the great mathematician, the friend of Palmer, the opponent of Hobbes and the Socinians, and probably the last survivor of those connected with the great Assembly who was not ashamed to speak of the benefit he had derived from its discussions during the preparation of its Confession and Catechisms, long after he had conformed to the Church of the Restoration.[1] The Shorter Catechism contains, as I have just told you, more of the materials of the catechism partially passed by the Assembly in 1646, but not in a shape which brings them nearer to the form of Palmer's original work. On the contrary, it is a thoroughly Calvinistic and Puritan catechism, the ripest fruit of the Assembly's thought and experience, maturing and finally fixing the definitions of theological terms to which Puritanism for half a century had been leading up and gradually coming closer and closer in its legion of catechisms.

It differs in one or two things even from the Larger Catechism, composed just before it. Its second question as to the rule of faith, if in more concise form than the third question of the other, is more direct and emphatic. Its definition of

[1] Wodrow and both the M'Cries seem to look on his claim with a certain amount of favour. Dr Belfrage refers to a 'theologian of great research' who favours that of Arrowsmith, but he does not appear to have been a member of the committee or in attendance on the Assembly at that time.

God is more happy, and, as already mentioned, is from a different source. It does not insert its definitions of faith and repentance where the other has them, but holds them over till its third part, when it comes to treat of the way of salvation and the means of grace. And while, as I have said, it is a thoroughly Calvinistic catechism, it has nothing of church censures, church courts, or church officers, as many similar productions have. Nay, it does not even have a definition of the Church, whether visible or invisible, like the Larger Catechism and the Confession of Faith, but only an incidental reference to it in connection with the answer to the question, To whom is baptism to be administered? It would seem as if in this their simplest yet noblest symbol they wished, as far as Calvinists could do so, to eliminate from their statements all that was subordinate or unessential—all relating to the mere organisation of Christians as an external community—all in which they differed from sound Protestant Episcopalians on the one hand, and from the less unsound of the sectaries on the other, and to make a supreme effort to provide a worthy catechism in which all the Protestant youth in the country might be trained. So highly was the effort appreciated at the time that the king, no doubt with the sanction of Ussher and his fellow-chaplains, in some of his latest negotiations with the

Parliament, offered to license it, while still hesitating to accept the Directories for Public Worship and for Church-Government as they had been drawn up by the Assembly. It was no sooner passed by the Parliament and published than it became widely popular in England, and it maintained its popularity in a wonderful degree even after the sad reverses which befel its authors in 1662. For more than a century after that, it was the most widely recognised manual of instruction, not only among Presbyterians but also among the other orthodox Dissenters. The Independents used it both in England and America. The Baptists used it with a very few alterations, and in the 18th century that great evangelist John Wesley, who was ever ready to adapt to his own purposes good books prepared by others holding opinions considerably different from his own, allowed it to circulate among his societies in a modified form. It was early translated into Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and has been retranslated in our own day into Hebrew and Syriac, and into most modern languages both in the east and the west. When about twenty-five years ago I visited the Lebanon schools, in the neighbourhood of Beyrout, I was greatly interested to find that the American missionaries not only taught this old catechism to the Druse and Maronite children, but also taught it in the old Scottish form which has now

all but disappeared at home, making it the first reading-book, having the A B C at the beginning, and a syllabary corresponding to our a, b, ab ; e, b, eb, etc., but of course all in orthodox Arabic.

The guiding principle of the Assembly and its committee in its composition was that announced by Dr. Seaman in one of the earliest debates about it, viz., 'That the greatest care should be taken to frame the answer not according to the model of the knowledge the child hath, but according to that the child ought to have.' And if too little care was taken in former times to teach it intelligently to the young, and gradually to open up its full meaning to them, yet, as Dr. M'Crie has well observed, 'the objection was pushed too far when it was maintained that without a full scientific understanding of its doctrines it is useless to acquire familiarity with their phraseology and contents. The pupil must learn the rudiments of Greek and Latin long before he can comprehend the use of them, or apply them as a key to unlock the treasures of ancient learning [in fact, in all Churches he is first taught his Christian creed in this way], and experience has shown that few who have been carefully instructed in our Shorter Catechism have failed to discover the advantage of becoming acquainted in early life, even as a task, with that admirable form of sound words.' For three quarters of a century past, I do not believe that

intelligent teachers of the Catechism have been rare, either in the parochial or in the Sabbath schools of Scotland, and with the helps with which Gall and others, who have drawn on the older stores of Wallis and Palmer and Lye, have provided them, there is no excuse for any teacher making the study of it an irksome task, or failing in a good measure to bring it down to the capacities and home to the hearts of his pupils. I am but fulfilling a simple duty when I thus publicly express my deep gratitude to my teachers, both in the day-school and in the Sabbath-school for the uniform pains they took to make the study of it interesting and attractive. I can confidently affirm that I found their instructions of no small advantage when I proceeded to the more systematic study of theology, and I shall never lose hope of the living orthodoxy of the Presbyterian Churches while their rising ministry and church-members are intelligently and affectionately trained in the Shorter Catechism, and set themselves to train their flocks in it as good old Principal Hill used to recommend them to do.

In a paper I put in type towards the close of 1880, and hope soon to publish, I have endeavoured pretty fully to trace out the sources of the several answers in this Catechism, or at least to indicate the many points of contact and resemblance between them and those of the earlier Puritan

catechisms. The exercise has been interesting to myself, and I trust its results will not be uninteresting to many of my brethren. It shows how gradually in the stream of successive catechisms those definitions of theological terms which were ultimately to be perfected and crystallised, so to speak, at Westminster, were developed and matured, and more and more widely accepted. I cannot within the compass of this lecture enter into details, but I may say generally before closing, that so far as plan and the order of the questions or interrogatories is concerned, I regard the little catechism of Ezekiel Rogers, who was a minister first in Yorkshire, and latterly in New England, as most closely resembling the Assembly's Shorter Catechism. The answers in his little treatise are much more simple and elementary, the exposition of the ten commandments is in the briefest possible form, and the verbal coincidences in individual answers are few. But all is there in miniature, and almost all in the same order as in the later and fuller catechism. The plan of M. N.'s (or, as I suppose, Matthew Newcomen's) Catechism is very similar also, the execution is much more detailed, especially in the exposition of the commandments, and particular answers frequently coincide in expression as well as in general meaning with those of the Shorter Catechism. The chief deviation is, that it, like

that of the Church of England and several of the more moderate Puritan catechisms, begins by reminding the catechumen of his baptism, and of the privileges and responsibilities connected with it. Next perhaps in point of resemblance stand the catechisms of Gouge and Ball. The author of the former was, like Newcomen, an influential member of the Assembly, and his treatise has many verbal coincidences with that prepared by them, but it deviates so far from it in plan by placing the exposition of the commandments before the explanation of the doctrines of the Christian faith. A similar remark applies to Ball's treatise, entitled *A Short Catechism.* This has decidedly more verbal coincidences with the Assembly's Shorter Catechism in the answers to particular questions, but it deviates farther in plan, treating first of doctrine, then of the means of grace, preaching, prayer, exposition of the Lord's Prayer and of the sacraments, of the Church and Church censures, and finally expounding the commandments, and concluding with a few general questions. Palmer's Catechism, as already stated, is similar in general plan, with the exception that, like the Anglican Catechism, it treats of prayer and the Lord's Prayer before it treats of the sacraments, and that it moulds its exposition of doctrine closely on the Apostles' Creed. It was unquestionably on the basis of its first part the divines began to work

in 1645, but so many of its historical questions have been omitted in the course of their successive revisions, and so much that was needed to explain and define important doctrines of the Christian system has been added, that the similarity is not now so marked in that first part, much less in the others, as, from the fact mentioned, one might have expected. The only trace the Shorter Catechism perhaps now bears of having been moulded on one which had the Apostles' Creed for the basis of its first or doctrinal part is that, at the close of that part, it takes account only of the eternal state of believers. But, strange as the fact may seem, it deviates in this from Palmer's, and from almost every other catechism—Newcomen's, however, as in so many other things, coming nearest to it. The only way in which one, who knows how strongly its authors speak in other parts of the desert of sin and the endless misery in reserve for the impenitent, can account for no reference being made to these topics in this place is, that the divines were expounding the last article of the Apostles' Creed, and had in view only the case of those who could truly say, 'I believe in the resurrection of the body, and the life everlasting,' and did not deem themselves bound even incidentally to advert to the future of those who had neither part nor lot in Christ and his great salvation.

The title sanctioned by the English Parliament for this catechism was not that originally fixed on by the Assembly itself, and by which it is now universally known, but the following expansion of it:—'The Grounds and Principles of Religion contained in a Shorter Catechism (according to the advice of the Assembly of Divines sitting at Westminster), to be used throughout the kingdom of England and dominion of Wales.'[1] It seems to have had the approval of the divines, and at least ten or twelve editions of it with this title were published in England before 1720.

Between 21st October and 19th November the Catechism may be said to have passed the first and second reading in the Assembly, and, without proofs, it was presented to the House of Commons on the 25th, and to the House of Lords on the 26th November. It was presented with proofs on 14th April 1648, and by 25th September 1648 it had been passed by the Houses, with the above title. It was approved by the General Assembly of Scotland on 28th July 1648, and their Acts in regard to it and the Larger Catechism were ratified by the Estates of the Scottish Parliament on 7th February 1649. No express mention is made of it or the Larger Catechism in the Act re-establishing Presbytery after the Revolution, but it has always retained its place of honour in the Presby-

[1] For procedure of the Houses, see *Minutes of Assembly*, p. 511.

terian Churches in Scotland, as elsewhere, as the most widely known and most highly valued of our doctrinal symbols.

Richard Baxter's opinion of this Catechism was very high, and his testimony to its merits very emphatic: 'I do heartily approve,' he says, 'of the Shorter Catechism of the Assembly, and of all therein contained, and I take it for the best catechism that ever I yet saw, and the answers continued (that is, I suppose, read continuously) for a most excellent summary of the Christian faith and doctrine, and a fit test to try the orthodoxy of teachers themselves.' Nay, he adds that, 'for the innate worth of it, he prefers it to any of the writings of the Fathers, and that he takes the labours of the Assembly, and especially the Confession and Catechisms, as the best book next his bible in his study.' The sainted Leighton seems also to have had a high opinion of it, and admits that the thoughts we find in it on the awful subject of the divine decrees 'are few, sober, clear, and certain.' Principal Hill speaks with high commendation of the Catechism and the system of teaching it followed by the ministers of his day: 'Considered as a system of divinity,' he says, 'this catechism is entitled to much admiration. It has nothing superfluous; the words are chosen with uncommon skill, and the answer to almost every question is a text on which a person vers-

ant in such subjects can easily enlarge, . . . and in the hands of an experienced, attentive examiner, . . . the catechism may be made completely to answer the purpose of leading the people to the apprehension of Christian doctrine and of the extent of Christian duty.'

The opinion of Dr. Schaff in our own day, if, as becomes a German, somewhat more guarded than Baxter's, is hardly less remarkable. He says: 'The Shorter Catechism is one of the three typical catechisms of Protestantism which are likely to last to the end of time. It is fully equal to Luther's and to the Heidelberg Catechism in ability and influence; it far surpasses them in clearness and careful wording (or, as he elsewhere says, in brevity, terseness, and accuracy of definition), and is better adapted to the Scottish and Anglo-American mind; but it lacks their genial warmth, freshness, and child-like simplicity.' Perhaps quite as noteworthy are the words he quotes from Carlyle, who, when testifying against modern materialism, thus expressed himself:— 'The older I grow—and I now stand upon the brink of eternity—the more comes back to me the first sentence in the catechism which I learned when a child, and the fuller and deeper its meaning becomes: What is the chief end of man?—To glorify God, and enjoy him for ever.'

LECTURE XIII.

CONCLUSION AND RESULTS OF THE ASSEMBLY.

WITH the completion of the Catechisms, the work of the Westminster Assembly may be said to have come to an end. Even before they were finished, the attendance had fallen off considerably, and it dwindled still further after they were out of hand, till there was often difficulty in obtaining the attendance of the forty members required to change a committee into a formal meeting of the Assembly. Rutherfurd, the last of the original Scottish Commissioners, had taken his departure in November 1647, and it is more than doubtful whether Blair, who came up the following autumn, was ever admitted to take his seat. The Assembly after 1647 seems to have occupied itself chiefly in getting ready for publication its answers to the reasons of the dissenting brethren, in vindication of their dissents from the decisions of the Assembly on the subject of the presbyterial government of the church, and the ordination of its ministers, as well as to certain papers they had given in to the

committee on accommodation.[1] The divines also resumed consideration of the Queries of the House of Commons regarding the *jus divinum* of church-government, and made further progress in putting into shape their answers to them, but they do not appear to have completed their labours or to have presented the results of them to the House. Their sessions continue to be numbered till 22d February 1648-9, which is marked as Session 1163. After that date they met chiefly as a committee for the examination of presentees to benefices and of candidates for licence till 25th March 1652. Whether their meetings ceased at that date, or whether, though no record of them is now extant, they were continued till the dismissal of the Long Parliament by Cromwell in the following year, has not been positively ascertained. Before their sessions ceased to be numbered, the Parliament had been 'purged' of a large proportion of its members, and the ancient constitution of the kingdom virtually set aside. The king had been tried, condemned, and executed by authority of a Commission or Court improvised by the 'Rump' of the House of Commons. Whatever doubt may exist as to the action or inaction of the Assembly in the case of Laud, there can be no doubt as to the courage and prompitude with which its leaders

[1] These, as stated on p. 200, were published in 1648, and with a new title-page in 1652.

and the Presbyterian ministers of London protested against the judicial murder of the king, nor as to the earnest anxiety they showed to the last to help forward any settlement of out-standing differences which would have saved the monarchy, and afforded reasonable security for civil liberty. But their fast friends and allies, the Scotch, had now returned to their own homes, and, when too late, the Presbyterians in the south learned the value of their faithful warnings, and found they were indeed at the mercy of that sectarian army who were bent on securing their own ends, though these should be gained by overturning the ancient constitution of the kingdom, and setting up in its room a commonwealth in name, an oligarchy or military despotism in fact. The committee of the Scottish Estates had instructed their Commissioners to protest against the trial of the king, and the Commissioners of the Scottish Assembly, concurring in the protest, expressed their utter detestation of 'so horrid a design against his Majesty's person,' and disclaimed all responsibility for 'the miseries, confusions, and calamities that might follow.' Their deputy, Blair, expressed himself as strongly on the enormity of this act as the most ardent Royalist could desire, and never ceased to speak of the unfortunate monarch in terms of warm affection and regard.[1] His early

[1] Blair's *Autobiography*, pp. 214, 261—'a good king evil-used.'

interviews with Cromwell, on the other hand, seem to have left on his mind impressions[1] even less favourable than those which Baxter and Ussher formed from their intercourse with him. Immediately on learning that the 'horrid design' had actually been carried out, the Committee of the Scottish Estates caused Charles II. to be proclaimed king, and 'sent to their Commissioners in London a copy of the proclamation, with a remonstrance to the House of Commons, which gave so great offence to the regicides, that they first imprisoned the Commissioners,' and soon after ignominiously dismissed them from the kingdom under the escort of a troop of horse. The Scotch invited the young king to come among them and take possession of his throne, and with much persuasion they at last prevailed on him to accept their invitation. But he was far from hearty in the matter, and an extreme party had sprung up among themselves who were too much in sympathy with the sectaries of the south, and too distrustful of their old Royalist countrymen. In their earnest desire to satisfy the scruples and disarm the hostility of these men, the more moderate party consented to measures which were harsh towards their sovereign and towards many who were eager to forget past differences and do their utmost to defend their native country against the formidable invader who now ventured

[1] Blair's *Autobiography*, p. 210—'an egregious dissembler.'

to assail it. All that the caution and skill of experienced generals could in the circumstances effect was done by the Leslies. But, through the interference and dictation of fanatical busybodies, it is said, their plans were thwarted, the triumph which seemed almost within grasp was snatched from them, and a disaster was inflicted on the nation which was great in its immediate, and still greater in its remoter consequences. Cromwell's army, after its victory at Dunbar, returned, and for months occupied the very heart of the kingdom. Nothing remained for the young monarch after his coronation at Scone in 1651, but, as soon as he could gather together even a less disciplined army, to summon to his aid the Royalists of the south, and to try the fortune of war in England. Few of them obeyed his hurried call, and at Worcester, on 3d September 1651 (the anniversary of the battle of Dunbar), after an obstinately contested engagement, his army was finally defeated, the supporters of the ancient constitution were crushed, 'Cromwell obtained his crowning mercy,' and the sectaries for a time became masters throughout the three kingdoms. Many fancy pictures have been drawn of the glories of that period in Scotland as well as in England, of the tranquillity of the country, the purity of the administration, and the comparative freedom and contentedness of the people. These pictures still require to be greatly toned down

to bring them into fair accordance with known facts, which only the greater severities of the later Stuart *régime* could have cast so much into shade.

There can be no question of the military genius or personal prowess or piety of Cromwell, nor of the high-toned morality of most of his *entourage*, nor of the worthiness of the ends aimed at in much of his foreign and domestic policy. But the circumstances which brought him to the front, and which first tempted or shut him up to the course he thenceforth resolutely pursued, the expedients to which he had recourse on various occasions when he could not attain his ends by strictly constitutional means, made it from the first all but impossible that he should be honoured to 'bring health and cure' to the distempered nation, or should ever come to trust and be trusted by the great majority who had been seeking, through all these commotions, not a new form of government or a new ruling dynasty, but the purification and continuance of the old. Neither the noble qualities and aims of the man, nor the brilliancy of his military successes, nor the greatness of his influence for much immediate good at home and abroad, ought to be allowed to blind us to the falseness of the position in which he put himself toward the legitimate aspirations of the nation, nor to the unworthy trickeries[1] and cruelties to which at times,

[1] Even Neal says of his policy towards the Cavaliers, the

in maintaining his position, he condescended to have recourse, nor to the sad consequences to Puritanism at home and to Protestantism abroad that ultimately came of his usurpation, and the measures by which its success was insured. Much of the hero-worship latterly paid at his shrine has been the glorification of force; and, if ever there was a case in which it might be truly said that force was no remedy, it was for that in which the nation and its Parliament found themselves in 1648. He did not attempt to loose, but only cut the knot, overpowering by the force of the army the legitimate authorities of the nation when the prospect of agreement between them was not yet abandoned,—perhaps had begun to be somewhat more hopeful. By the judicial murder of the king, he outraged the feelings of the vast majority of the people, and by his whole policy he provoked and intensified that reaction which came to a head so soon after his death. His government was personal government almost as undisguisedly as ever that of Charles had been, and it was more unblushingly based on the supremacy of the army as 'a providential power,' entitled to overrule or supersede every other. It was a despotism to the core even when it was most a paternal and religious

Presbyterians, and the Republicans: 'Cromwell had the skill not only to keep them divided, but to increase their jealousies of each other, and by that means to disconcert all their measures against himself.'—Vol. iv. p. 90. See also Beattie's *History*, p. 261.

one. And in Scotland as well as in Ireland, the paternal was ever the vanishing quantity, and the despotism pure and simple the constant one. He could confide only in his own small coterie; his power of influencing individual men, even within the Puritan circle, was but limited; he had no such gift of eloquence or electrical force as enabled him to move or control the hostile or indifferent masses, and mould them to his will. He was never content, with all the safeguards he devised, to be simply the first magistrate in a free state.[1] Even the Parliaments elected under the regulations drafted by him, or his Council, did not prove obsequious to his will, and were only a little less respectfully dismissed than the Long Parliament had been. Whatever he may have tolerated in religion, he did not tolerate freedom of church-government in England, still less in Scotland. Notwithstanding all his advances, that country continued in a state of sullen discontent, if not of veiled rebellion. Not only was the General Assembly dissolved in 1653, and prevented from meeting in 1654, but the synods and inferior courts

[1] 'He wished no doubt that England should be free and happy, but he wished too to be its greatest man, if not its sovereign. He had nothing of the magnanimity of Washington. To the last he was a slave to the vulgar lust of power; and to this he sacrificed both his integrity and his country, his conscience, and his peace. . . . Of all usurpers, Cromwell was perhaps the best—the best of a race which merits the indignation of mankind.'—Marsden's *Later Puritans*, pp. 400, 403. See also Hallam, vol. ii. chap. x.

at times were vexatiously interfered with and dispersed, and the decisions of presbyteries in the settlement of ministers, even when based on the call of the people, were often overruled. I have recently had occasion to examine the records of the Synod of Perth and Stirling during the period, which show a state of repression in that central province more systematic than previous researches had prepared me to expect.[1] It was the temporary success of his repressive policy, I believe, which emboldened Clarendon in England, and Sharp in Scotland, to pursue their far more rigorous and cruel courses. After the death of Cromwell, the motley fabric he had reared fell of its own accord. His son Richard abdicated the office of Protector, as soon as he found he could not count on the support of those who had followed

[1] In October 1651, there was no meeting of Synod—'the English army having overspread the land, and garrisons being planted both in Perth and Stirling, and no safety for travelling, nor liberty for the brethren to convene.' The following year, the Synod met at Dunning, but were kept out of the Church by a popular tumult, apparently encouraged by those who favoured the English faction. In October 1653, the Synod met at Dunblane, and, 'considering the poverty of the number, and also the want of freedom, being interrupted by the soldiers of Captain Robertson's command,' then lying at Dunblane, they unanimously adjourned the Synod till the following spring, protesting on the interruption of the soldiers, 'that this interruption should be no prejudice to their liberty to meet again, according to the power given them by Jesus Christ to assemble as well as to preach, in regard the Word of God, the Solemn League and Covenant, the Acts of the General Assembly, and the laws of the land all allowed it.' They did not meet

the fortunes of his father. The officers of the army would have liked to retain the supreme control of affairs in their own hands, but, uncertain of the attitude of Monk, and the Scottish division of the army towards themselves or to the exiled prince, they consented to recall the 'Rump,' of the Long Parliament, which, in 1653, Cromwell had contemptuously dismissed, and it continued to direct the government of the kingdom for a time. After Monk came with his forces to London, and was welcomed by its citizens, the 'excluded members' were encouraged again to take their seats, and so the last legally elected Parliament, whose rights, Bradshaw had told Cromwell, were not invalidated by his act of dismissal, was peacefully reinstated at Westminster. Without delay it fell back on its old traditions, restored the Solemn League and Covenant to its place of

again till October 1654, and, expecting to be again interrupted, before taking up any other business, they made arrangements for their next meeting, as well as for the change of the time and place for it, if these should prove unsuitable or unsafe. They met again in April 1655, and, hearing that a party of soldiers was coming to interrupt their meeting, they improved on the innovation of the preceding year, and resolved not only to fix time and place for their meeting, but to transact their business before the usual sermon and the arrival of the soldiers, who apparently had been timed not to arrive till after sermon. That was not interrupted by them, but, immediately after, an English officer commanded the Assembly to dissolve, and, being asked to show his warrant for what he did, he refused, and threatened, and actually did use, violence, whereupon the moderator, after the usual solemn protest, dissolved the meeting. See also Beattie, pp. 232-236.

honour in the House and in the churches, re-approved without qualification of all the chapters of the Confession of Faith save Chaps. xxx. and xxxi., and recognised the Presbyterian government of the Church, but with a toleration for tender consciences. And these, rather than the older arrangements of 1648, are those by which the spirit of English Presbyterianism ought in fairness to be judged. Having provided for the assembling of a Parliament more truly representative of the nation and more in the old form, this memorable House of Commons then agreed to its own dissolution. The new House was elected to a certain extent by a far wider constituency than Cromwell had ever intrusted with such powers, and a large number of old Cavaliers found places among its members. They were not so powerful in it, however, as they were soon to become, and it would probably have listened with favour to the suggestion of Sir Matthew Hale, that conditions should be arranged with the king, before his restoration, for securing the liberties of the nation and the reformation of the Church. But those in the immediate confidence of Monk, as well as those about the king, dreaded such a movement, and determined to hurry on the Restoration while the favourable impression produced by the royal Declaration from Breda was still at its height. Thus, in the exuberance of an

unsuspecting loyalty, all was confided to the honour of the king, and on the 29th of May he was welcomed to the capital with unbounded enthusiasm and joy. There is perhaps no reason to suppose that the king himself meant deliberately to amuse or mislead those who so implicitly confided in him. Indeed the Declaration he issued in October 1660, and the offers of promotion he made to leading Puritans seem to show the contrary, and that he would have been gratified to be the means of restoring a better understanding between those who had united in doing him so signal a service. But he was not thoroughly in earnest in the cause. It was good-nature, more than any deeper principle which actuated him, and he was not resolute in his course. While he had not gone quite far enough in his Declaration to satisfy Baxter, and some of his more scrupulous brethren, he had gone too far to please the old bishops, and they left no stone unturned to avert the threatened mischief. 'They worked upon Clarendon, they rallied the courtiers as one man round the banner of the High Church, they spirited away Sir Matthew Hale from the Lower House by having him appointed Chief Baron of the Exchequer. At length their efforts were crowned with success.'[1] On the 28th of November 1660, they saw this Declaration rejected in the

[1] Bayne's *English Puritanism*, p. 122.

House of Commons by a majority of 26. With this may be said to have perished all prospect of such a reconstruction of the Church as would have satisfied the reasonable desires and cherished hopes of the more moderate Nonconformists, and with that almost all prospect of any large or liberal toleration to them outside. It was now unmistakeably clear that whatever may have been the personal wishes of the king, and one or two of the noblemen in immediate attendance on him, his chief advisers, lay as well as clerical, were not in favour of any real or generous compromise. The Savoy Conference could hardly in such circumstances have been other than a failure, though every effort was made to load the Presbyterians with the odium of the failure. Their recent services to the royal cause, it was now evident, had not obliterated from the minds of their embittered opponents, the remembrance of the more ancient feud. Now that they thought they had them in their power, and a majority of the House of Commons at their back, they were determined to make their position as uncomfortable as they could. No real ground had been given for this. There was no inconsistency in contending, as these had done through all the preceding troubles, for a certain amount of liberty in the state, and of reformation in the Church, and yet standing by the ancient constitution and royal family. The

attempt to misrepresent them, and excite prejudice against them, and to revive the old doctrine of passive obedience, and the divine right of kings, was unworthy of those who prostituted their sacred office to assert it, and to prepare a fresh harvest of calamity for the nation. The issue of such a course could only be a great schism and a new struggle, which only truly Christian men could have continued to maintain so resolutely with no arms but those of prayer and patience. 'At length the storm burst.' The work of the Savoy Conference was transferred to the revived Convocation, and after the Book of Common Prayer had been revised by them, and many minor alterations made (but few making it more acceptable to the Puritans[1]), it was transmitted to the king, and the Bill to compel uniformity was re-introduced into Parliament. The history of its progress there, of the changes made in its progress—tending to increase its harshness—and of the narrow majorities by which at last it was passed, has been often told, and recently it has been re-told with greater minuteness and accuracy by Canon Swainson. On the 14th January, it was read a first time in the House of Commons; on the 8th of May, it finally passed the House of

[1] Even the 'ridiculous story' of Bel and the Dragon, struck out of the table of lessons after the Hampton Court Conference, was now restored.

Lords, and on the 18th it received the royal assent. 'The fate of the Puritans was thus sealed. The contest of a hundred years was at an end,' and by St. Bartholomew's Day, 24th August 1662 (fixed by the Act), it is said that full two thousand of them had surrendered their benefices and left the Church. Their sorrows and sufferings were great and long-continued, but these at last came to an end. The consequences to the Church herself, immediate and more remote, as many of her truest friends have confessed, were more lasting, and even more deplorable.

Mr. Marsden, their most generous critic in recent times, in one of the most eloquent passages in his second volume,[1] calls in question the wisdom and expediency of the course they followed in refusing to accept the promotion offered them, and to take their place at once in the restored Church. 'They acted,' he says, 'with integrity, but they were not wise. . . . There seems to have been now, as there always was, a want of concert and of practical good sense amongst the Puritan leaders. . . . There are times when good men are imperiously called upon to accept preferment at the expense of reputation. Vulgar minds will find it impossible to respect or even to understand their motives. The race of ambition is a passion so universal, that the few who pursue it from disinterested motives are never appreciated. Yet Christian heroism calls,

[1] *Later Puritans*, pp. 427, 428, and other writers quoted there.

though rarely it must be allowed, for this species of self-immolation, and men, for their heavenly Master's sake, must even be content sometimes to have greatness thrust upon them. To accept the preferments was at least to gain more influence with the Court; to reject them was to abandon the little they possessed. They ought to have renounced the Covenant, they ought to have unsaid the former extravagancies of themselves or of their party: this indeed they did in private; and they should not have shrunk from doing it publicly and before the people. Nor had they in truth much cause for shame. Which of their opponents had not something to retract? Which of them, for instance, now ventured to maintain (whatever they might secretly wish) the canons of 1640 and the practices of Laud? . . . Had they accepted preferment it seems impossible that the calamities should have occurred which now immediately ensued. Could the Act of Uniformity have passed with Richard Baxter in the House of Lords? Would the most violent High Churchman have ventured to recommend the king to put his hand to a bill which must instantly create a new secession and place at its head a band of Nonconforming Bishops? . . . They did not perceive the importance of the crisis, and that this was their last opportunity. . . . Their motives were pure, but their decision was unfortunate.'

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:h? Would it not have been a life-long
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to be associated and identified with men
ıated their strictness, set no value on their
:ar excellencies, and did not feel their need of
. or really care to retain them? Could they
hoped to find themselves in better case than
the sainted Leighton in Scotland, who was
udged by those he left, mistrusted by those
ɔined, and at last constrained to abandon in
,ust the work for the sake of which he had
·sented to make this sad self-immolation? But
ing as they did, resolving to forego preferment,
her than risk being compromised, these noble
nfessors at least preserved their own peace of
·nscience and the esteem and sympathy of those
'ose esteem and sympathy they truly valued,
·mmanded the respect of their opponents, and
·re a testimony to the reality of religious
·rinciple which told even on that backsliding
,eneration, and has secured them honour and
:nfluence for all future time.

Then a similar course to that Marsden recommends may be said to have been followed in Scotland, both under the first and the second Protestant

episcopacies, as it had been in England on the accession of Elizabeth; and under both it is admitted to have been a signal failure. What the leaders of English Puritanism shrunk from doing at the Restoration several of the leaders of Scottish Puritanism ventured to do both in 1606 and in 1661, as Nicolson, Cooper, and Forbes at the former date, and Sharp, Leighton, Halyburton, and Honeyman at the latter. But they did not thereby succeed in repairing the breaches that had been made in the walls of Zion, nor in working out any great deliverance in the land. The results of their compliance were mortifying to themselves and disappointing to others, and ended in a policy so oppressive and unchristian that Archbishop Leighton declared 'that he would not concur in planting the Christian religion itself in such a manner, much less a form of church-government.'

The fate of the Scottish Presbyterians was more tragic than that of the English. Thrown off their guard by the letter of the king, and the representations of their envoy, they took no active measures to secure the dearly-won liberties of their Church till it was too late to do so. The English advisers of the king had made up their minds, in furtherance of what they deemed English interests, to defy Scottish opinion, and far outdo the repressive policy of Cromwell. That Church which was dear to the Scottish people, and had, notwithstand-

ing many shortcomings, proved itself worthy of their love, which had never swerved in its loyalty to the sovereign, and had suffered much at the hands of the sectaries for its steadfastness in his cause, was not only cramped and repressed, but in a drunken fit deprived by the Parliament of the legal securities which his father had ratified, and the king himself had sworn to. The rights of the younger portion of the ministers to their benefices were put in jeopardy, and on their declining to make the compliances demanded of them, they were ordered by an Act of Council to leave by a certain day. A large number of them did so, and by that Act, and other repressive measures, it is said that nearly four hundred were outed or deprived. How far Sharp, in whom they reposed so unlimited confidence, was the dupe of Monk and Sheldon, and how far he was the willing ally of the one in bringing back the king without conditions, and of the other in the insane attempt to wreathe the yoke of a new episcopacy round the neck of the Scottish nation, can hardly now be ascertained. But the result was as fatal to his country and himself as if it had been deliberately planned, and English statesmen and their Scottish dupes or allies had determined to make Scotland a second Ireland. That which Henderson and their other leaders feared in 1641 had now come on them, when they were ex-

hausted by their previous struggles and less able effectually to oppose it. But they were to prove, by their heroic endurance of oppression and cruelty unparalleled, the constancy of their attachment to their beloved Presbytery, and to win back by these means what they had previously thought could be gained and retained by them only by force of arms.

The withdrawal of so many able, zealous, and experienced ministers (about 2000 in England and 400 in Scotland) was unquestionably a sad loss to the national Churches, and the long period of deadness that followed, the mad outbreak of vice, profanity, and religious indifference which for a time seemed to bear down all that was self-restrained and earnestly Christian, was perhaps its saddest consequence, sadder far than any that came to the sufferers themselves from the contempt and hatred and cruel oppression they had to endure. But the ejection of these confessors had other consequences which it would be wrong to overlook. It was overruled for good by Him who orders all things wisely and well, and was the means of working out results which, humanly speaking, could not otherwise have been gained.

First, Their conduct bore striking testimony to the reality of religious principle. As I have just stated, it may be doubted whether the conformity of these men, and the continuance of the whole of

them in the national Churches, would have arrested the sad course of events, and saved the nation then so resolutely bent on breaking loose from all restraint. But it might have shut their own mouths or weakened the force of the testimony which in more fortunate times they had borne for God and godliness, and would have had still to bear before men who were resolved to own them only as either knaves or fools. Their conformity in the circumstances, it seems to me, would have done more than anything else to justify the opinion that, after all their professions, they were but hypocrites or fair-weather Christians, who, whatever they might say for religion, were as reluctant as their neighbours to make any real sacrifice for it. But when their leaders, rather than prove unfaithful to the convictions which in more fortunate times they had avowed, chose to forego the ease and independence which were within their reach, and to refuse the dignities which were offered them, and when so large a number of their followers joined them in surrendering their preferments and exposing themselves to certain privation, and to almost as certain persecution, and when, notwithstanding all they had to suffer, they persevered in their course, whatever men may say of them, they dare not for very shame say that they were not in sober earnest about religion and the scriptural organisation of the Church, and under

obloquy and apparent defeat achieving for their Master and themselves a glorious moral victory. A distinguished member of a later secession has illustrated the grandeur of the Puritan one by a comparison it would have been invidious in me to suggest, but I may venture to repeat his words: 'They went forth each man alone. They had no free press to plead their cause; they had no free country in which to organise and carry on their church; they had no Chalmers to be the Moses of their exodus; they went forth as Abraham did, not knowing where they should obtain their next meal, or where they should sleep the next night—casting themselves and their little ones on the providence of God.' And I may venture to add that, if ever the words of the Apostle might be truly applied to any of his successors, they might be so to them: 'Being reviled, we bless; being persecuted, we suffer it: being defamed, we entreat.' The diaries of Philip Henry, recently published, furnish many noble and touching illustrations of this.

Second, It secured the ultimate triumph of the cause of civil liberty and religious toleration. Had all that they ventured to ask at the Restoration been frankly conceded to them, the loss to Britain and to Anglo-Saxon Christendom might have been far greater than the gain. Some of the worst excesses of the later Stuarts might have been escaped.

The crown might have been a little more chary in exceeding its prerogatives and abusing its influence, but its province would not have been so distinctly marked out, so carefully limited, or so faithfully kept as it has been under that happy Revolution Settlement, which was the real outcome of the influence of moderate Puritanism in its application to the State. The Church might have been somewhat more comprehensive, somewhat more tolerant of the friends of evangelical truth within her pale than for long she was, but she would not have been a whit more tolerant of those who were beyond her pale. In fact, from their smaller numbers and less influential position, the final triumph of the principle of toleration might have been long deferred. As I have said already, that was a noble principle which the Assembly had enshrined in its Confession, and while it shall continue to survive Puritanism will not need to hide its diminished head before any of the other Isms of the day: 'God alone is Lord of the conscience, and hath left it free from the doctrines and commandments of men which are in anything contrary to His word, or beside it in matters of faith or worship. So that to believe such doctrines, or to obey such commands out of conscience, is to betray true liberty of conscience, and the requiring of an implicit faith, and an absolute blind obedience, is to destroy liberty of conscience and

reason also.' If in the day of their prosperity they had affirmed this principle, a large number of them had failed consistently and lovingly to carry it out in practice. God suffered them to be cast into a furnace seven times heated, that they might learn in adversity the lesson they had not thoroughly mastered in prosperity, and from bitter experience be led to realise the full value and extent of the principle enshrined in their own Confession.

Third, It has kept open for settlement in more fortunate times the questions which were then not ripe for settlement. Had these men conformed, having all conceded which they had ventured to ask, the constitution of the national Churches would have been but slightly modified, the cause of more free and simple worship, of a reasonably independent church action and government, and of a more pure and vigorous church discipline, would have been but little advanced. But by their ejection and continuance in separation, a testimony was kept up for the truths for which they and their fathers had witnessed, and by the experiences through which their descendants have since passed they have been enabled to give practical proof of the vitality of the principles for which their fathers contended, and to provide a contribution of no mean value for the happier times when English-speaking Christians on both sides of the Atlantic shall be inclined to forget

the sad past and to labour together in rearing to their common Father and Redeemer a nobler temple than we have yet seen, and when perhaps even the bright vision of a united Protestantism, such as Cranmer and Calvin longed for, and Ussher, Leighton, Henderson, Howe, and Baxter laboured for, may be realised.

These lectures on the Westminster Assembly, and the Westminster Standards, must now be brought to a close. I am sure that, after the length to which this one has already extended, you will excuse me from attempting to enter more fully into certain debatable questions which I have been able to touch on only in the most incidental manner. I should like to say something more on the question whether England was in any sense ripe for Presbytery in the middle of the 17th century, and whether our countrymen, by their over-keenness in pressing it, did not cast away a good chance of a more moderate, but more stable settlement, such as Ussher had proposed, under which the old Church of England might have proved to be one of the fairest daughters of the Reformation and remained in loving sympathy and hearty fellowship with the sister Churches. I must be content, however, to pass over such inviting topics, and to confine myself in a few closing sentences to one point only. It is said that the Westminster Assembly was, after all, a failure, and

that its standards, ere many years had passed, were cast aside in the land which gave them birth. Indeed it was so, and so was much of the regard for God and things divine. Many, set free from the restraint under which they had for a time been kept, surrendered themselves up to every excess of riot. The very king, for whose sake so much had been dared and suffered by loyal Presbyterians, heartlessly forgot the promises he had given, and abandoned them to the mercy of their old antagonists. The court he gathered round him was the most dissolute which England for centuries had seen, and many, of whom better things might have been expected, contended but feebly against iniquity in high places. Many of whom the age was not worthy surrendered their livings rather than submit to the new Act of Uniformity, and went forth from the Church they loved and wished to serve, to prove, under contempt and persecution, the reality of the Christian principles they had professed in the day of their prosperity and their deep attachment to the constitution of their native land. But though their doctrinal standards were haughtily ignored and themselves ejected from the reconstituted Church, their theology lived on all the same. It lived on in the Episcopal Churches of England and Scotland in the teaching of Reynolds, Conant, Wallis, Hopkins, and Leighton, and several other like-minded

men, who strove to be faithful to God in the midst of abounding defection. It lived on too, in the teaching of those who went forth as outcasts from society and the Churches of their native land, preached it by their meek and holy lives when no longer allowed to preach it by their lips, and out of their deep poverty and sore tribulation enriched after generations and stored the treasures of their experience and teaching in those precious practical treatises which will live while the English language continues to be spoken, and the faith of St. Paul, Augustine, Ussher, and Leighton to be valued, by the Anglo-Saxon race. Even in that time of lowest depression, emphatic testimony was borne to it by John Bunyan and his Baptist brethren, when, in 1677, they substantially adopted the Confession of the Westminster Assembly, as the Independents had previously done. In his thrilling sermons and inimitable allegories he secured for it as wide and loving acceptance among the humble and unlettered as the masterly discussions and defences of its more learned advocates secured for it among many of the educated and thoughtful. It is said to have been from the writings of Manton that Augustus Toplady, who was to stand so resolutely in its defence in the following century within the national Church, received his first earnest impressions.

The Westminster Confession and Catechisms

continued to be adhered to in Scotland, within as well as without the reconstituted Church, even after the Acts of Parliament which had ratified them were repealed. And, though cast out in Old England, they were taken in in the New, and in other colonies beyond the Atlantic, first by the children of the Pilgrim Fathers, and then by the descendants of the Scottish and Scoto-Irish emigrants of a later day, under whose joint tutelage mainly the United States have grown up into a great and noble nation—the heirs with us on this side of the old Augustinian faith and Presbyterian order, and I will add, so far as my acquaintance warrants me to speak, its main hope and stay in the future. In the same sad years not less emphatic testimony to the hold their system of theology still had on the minds of a very pious and earnest part of the nation was borne by the publication of numerous editions of the Shorter Catechism in England. These incontrovertibly show, either that, notwithstanding their hard lot, Nonconformists were at that time more numerous than has generally been supposed, or else that Evangelical ministers of the national Church did not yet scruple to avail themselves of a Catechism which they knew King Charles and his chaplains had in 1648 been willing to sanction; and even under apparent defeat Puritanism continued largely to influence the English nation.

In the State during these sad years things went

from bad to worse till the tyranny, licentiousness, and Popish proclivities of the later Stuart kings once more roused the nation against them, and provoked a revolution which, being more strictly kept within the lines of the constitution, has proved more practical and permanent. With the advent of William of Orange to the British throne Protestantism was once more saved, and civil and religious liberty at length was settled on a stable foundation. He not only granted by law a large toleration outside to orthodox dissenters, but also strove to make the national Church so comprehensive that if possible the mischief of St. Bartholomew's day might be repaired, and moderate Puritans again find room within its pale. The success of this great scheme was prevented chiefly by the Jacobites and extreme High Churchmen, but in part also, it must be admitted, by the indifference shown for it by not a few of the Puritan leaders. Notwithstanding the hard experiences through which they had passed, they were still a numerous and influential body, especially in London and other towns. It seemed as if, like ancient Israel, the more they were afflicted the more they multiplied and grew, and that it was not till the counsel of Balaam was adopted against them, or by them against themselves, and they fell off from the Evangelical faith of their fathers, that much real injury happened to them. 'So far as outward prosperity was con-

cerned the position and prospects of Presbyterianism were never,' Dr. M'Crie assures us, 'brighter or more promising than at the era of the Revolution. In the great metropolis its chapels were thickly planted, and they were filled with wealthy and influential congregations, which, so long as the older ministers survived, were favoured with a pure and vigorous dispensation of the Gospel, and in good measure kept alive the flame of holy zeal and heavenly devotion which had warmed the Church under the winter of persecution.' Dr. Stoughton seems to think that at that era Presbyterians, Independents, and Baptists together embraced nearly half of the population of England. Early in the 18th century a religious declension was ushered in, which in greater or less degree extended to all the Churches in Britain and on the Continent, 'a spiritual blight, which,' as Dr. M'Crie so well says, 'it is difficult to explain in any other way than by the withdrawal of God's Spirit from the Churches of the Reformation.' The Presbyterians of England, from their aversion to or neglect of subscription, even in the most general form, were among the first to suffer in this long and chilling winter time. Many of their congregations dwindled away; not a few of their members, coming under the new Evangelical impulse given to England by Whitfield, sought for themselves a new home. Others merged with

the Independents; others lapsed into Rationalism, if not into Arianism or Unitarianism, and the old Presbyterian Church of South Britain now lives mainly in the immortal writings of its early teachers, in the memory of the heroic sufferings they so meekly bore, and of their noble-hearted faithfulness to Christ and His truth in times of trial and rebuke. The torch of Evangelical Presbyterianism has been once more rekindled from Scotland, and promises now to give a brighter light than it has done for long. But the old lamp has been virtually extinguished, and the lamp-stand removed out of its place—reading to all, in these somewhat similar times, the much needed lesson that no past attainments, no past services, no past sacrifices will avail to preserve a Church from decay and dissolution if it hold not the beginning of its confidence steadfast unto the end, if it cleave not close to its divine Redeemer and be not unashamed of Him and His words when brought face to face with any faithless and scoffing generation, if it allows the light of Evangelical truth and the fire of Evangelical piety to die out or to die down. Let those of us who think we stand remember those who have fallen, and take good heed to ourselves lest there be in any of us an evil heart of unbelief in departing from the living God, and from him who is the light and life of men. And let us persevere in prayer, that He

with whom is the residue of the Spirit may be pleased to send down on us, in more abundant measure than ever hitherto, the influences of His Holy Spirit to revive His work in all the Churches of the Presbyterian family and to give us times of refreshing from His presence and from the glory of His power, such as our fathers longed for and were often privileged largely to enjoy. The standards of the Westminster Assembly have not failed to bind the Church and nation which have held by them to many sister and daughter Churches of which we have no cause to be ashamed, and which, with only the bond the Assembly provided to bind them to the historic past,—to the principles embodied in the creeds of the undivided Church, and to the teaching of Augustine and Calvin—have continued to live and thrive and do as noble service in the cause of our common Lord as any of those which claim a higher pedigree and retain a more rigid and elaborate ritual. And the end is not yet, nor while God continues to honour the Evangelical teaching of many of the distinguished ministers in all our Presbyterian Churches to turn multitudes from lives of sin and selfishness to those of holiness and self-sacrifice, to comfort the wounded in spirit and quicken the careless, have we any cause to fear for the great principles of that Evangelical system long held in common by all the Reformed Churches.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

NOTE A, pp. 2, 7.

THE old English Puritan was such an one that honoured God above all, and under God gave every one his due. His first care was to serve God, and therein he did not what was good in his own, but in God's sight, making the Word of God the rule of his worship. He highly esteemed order in the house of God, but would not under colour of that submit to superstitious rites. . . . He reverenced authority keeping within its sphere, but durst not, under pretext of subjection to the higher powers, worship God after the traditions of men. He made conscience of all God's ordinances, though some he esteemed of more consequence. He was much in prayer, with which he began and closed the day. In it he was exercised in his closet, family, and public assembly. He esteemed that manner of prayer best where by the gift of God expressions were varied according to the present wants and occasions; yet did he not account set forms unlawful . . . he did not wholly reject the Liturgy, but the corruptions of it. He accounted preaching as necessary now as in the primitive church, God's pleasure being still by the foolishness of preaching to save those that believe. . . . He esteemed that preaching best wherein was most of God and least of man, . . . and that method best which was most helpful to understanding, affections, and memory. The Lord's day he esteemed a divine ordinance, and rest on it necessary so far as conduced to holiness. He was careful to remember it, to get house and heart in order for it, and when it came he was studious to improve it. Lawful recreations he

thought this day unseasonable, and unlawful ones much more abominable. Yet he knew the liberty which God gave him for needful refreshing, which he did neither refuse nor abuse. The sacrament of baptism he received in infancy, which he looked back to in age to answer his engagements and claim his privilege. The Lord's supper he accounted part of his soul's food . . . he esteemed it an ordinance of nearest communion with Christ, and so requiring most exact preparation. He endeavoured to have the scandalous cast out of communion, but he cast not out himself because the scandalous were suffered by the negligence of others. He thought that God had left a rule in his Word for discipline, and that aristocratical by elders, not monarchical by bishops, nor democratical by the people. Right discipline he judged pertaining not to the being but to the well-being of a church; therefore he esteemed those churches most pure where the government is by elders, yet unchurched not those where it was otherwise. Perfection in churches he thought rather a thing to be desired than hoped for. And so he expected not a church state without all defects. The corruptions that were in churches he thought it his duty to bewail with endeavours of amendment, yet would he not separate where he might partake in the worship and not in the corruption. . . . He put not holiness in churches; he would have them kept decent, not magnificent. His chiefest music was singing of Psalms, wherein though he neglected not the melody of the voice, he looked chiefly after that of the heart. He accounted religion an engagement to duty, that the best Christians should be best husbands, best wives, best parents, best children, best masters, best servants, best magistrates, best subjects. . . . The family he endeavoured to make a church, both in regard of persons and exercises, admitting none into it but such as feared God, and labouring that those that were born into it might be born again unto God. He blessed his family, morning and evening, by the word and prayer. . . . His whole life he accounted a warfare, wherein Christ was his Captain, his arms prayers and tears, the cross his banner, and his word, '*vincit qui patitur.*'—*The Character of the Old English Puritan or Nonconformist* by John Geree, M.A. London, 1646.

THE ODDS OR DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE KNAVE'S PURITAN AND THE KNAVE PURITAN.

The Knave's Puritan.	*The Knave Puritan.*
He that resists the world, the flesh, and fiend,	He whose best good is only good to seem,
And makes a conscience how his days to spend,	And, seeming, holy gets some false esteem;
Who hates excessive drinking, drabs, and dice,	Who makes religion hide hypocrisy
And (in his heart) hath God in highest price,	And zeal to cover o'er his villany;
That lives conformable to law and state,	Whose purity (much like the devil's ape)
Nor from the truth will fly or separate,	Can shift himself into an angel's shape;
That will not swear or cosen, cogge or lie,	And play the rascal most devoutly trim,
But strives in God's fear how to live and die;	Not caring who sinks, so himself may swim;
He that seeks this to do the best he can,	He's the Knave Puritan, and only he
He is the knave's abused Puritan.	Makes the Knave's Puritan abused be.

It is now come to that pass that if any one give up his name to Christ, or but look toward religion, he is presently branded with the infamous name of Puritan; but the truth is, it is no disgrace to be so styled, but rather, as now, it is an honour. Once (as a learned bishop could say) only such passed for Puritans as opposed the church-government, and cried out for discipline, but now to be truly religious is to become a Puritan; . . . yea, to be a mere moral honest man is to incur that censure. Yea, if a man be but orthodoxal, evangelical, papists will not doubt to load him with names more than a few.—P. 391 of *Works of R. Harris, B.D.*, one of the members of the Assembly. See also E 85, No. 20.

NOTE B, p. 53.

Travers, if ordained to the office of deacon in England, was certainly ordained to that of presbyter in the Puritan Church of Antwerp. He was admitted as Lecturer at the Temple, and for some years was associated with Hooker there, and was very highly esteemed by the benchers, who till that time had continued to receive the communion sitting. When deprived of his lectureship he was invited to Dublin by the Archbishop, and made Provost of Trinity College, where he had the honour of training Archbishop

Ussher, who held him in the highest regard. With respect to purity of language and style, Mr. Marsden says that 'Cartwright and Travers are at least equal to Hooker, whose power lies rather in majesty of thought than in felicity of expression. In the pulpit, 'Travers preaching before the same audience—one of the most accomplished in England—carried away the palm of eloquence from his great opponent by the consent of all parties. Cartwright's eloquence had won the admiration of Cambridge.' Yet according to Hallam, 'so stately and graceful is the march of Hooker's periods, so various the fall of his musical cadences upon the ear, so rich in images, so condensed in sentences, so grave and noble his diction, so little is there of vulgarity in his racy idiom, of pedantry in his learned phrases, that I know not whether any later writer has more admirably displayed the capacities of our language or produced passages more worthy of comparison with the splendid monuments of antiquity. . . . He inquired into the nature and foundation of law itself as the rule of operation to all created being, . . . and having thoroughly established the fundamental distinction between laws natural and positive, eternal and temporary, immutable and variable, he came with all this strength of moral philosophy to discriminate by the same criterion the various rules and precepts contained in the Scripture. . . . It was maintained by this great writer, not only that ritual observances are variable according to the discretion of ecclesiastical rulers, but that no certain form of polity is set down in Scripture as generally indispensable for a Christian church. Far, however, from conceding to his antagonists the fact which they assumed, he contended for episcopacy as an apostolical institution, and always preferable when circumstances would allow its preservation, to the more democratical model of the Calvinistic congregations' (*History of England*, vol. ii. pp. 215, 217). Hooker, says Mr. Rawson Gardiner, 'had maintained that the disputed points being matters which were not ordained by any immutable divine ordinance, were subject to change from time to time, according to the circumstances of the church. For the time being, these questions had been settled by the law of the Church of England, to which the Queen as the head and representative of the nation had given her assent. With this settlement he was perfectly content, and he advised his opponents to submit to the law which had been thus laid down. Upon looking closely, however, into Hooker's great work, it becomes evident that his conclusions are based upon two

distinct arguments, which, although they were blended together in his own mind at some sacrifice of logical precision, were not likely in future to find favour at the same time with any one class of reasoners. When he argues from Scripture and from the practice of the early church, the as yet undeveloped features of Bancroft and Laud are plainly to be discerned. When he proclaims the supremacy of law, and weighs the pretensions of the Puritans in the scales of reason he shows a mind the thoughts of which are cast in the same mould with those of that school of thinkers of whom Bacon is the acknowledged head. Hooker's greatness indeed, like the greatness of all by whom England was ennobled in the Elizabethan age, consisted rather in the entireness of his nature than in the thoroughness with which his particular investigations were carried out.'—*History of England from* 1603 *to* 1616, vol. i. pp. 157, 158.

NOTE C, p. 70.

Their petition is reprinted in E, 170, No. 4. Its contents are given pretty fully by Fuller and Neal, and somewhat abridged are the following:—1. In the church service—That the cross in baptism, interrogatories ministered to infants, and confirmation be taken away; that baptism be not ministered by women, and cap and surplice be not urged; that examination go before admission to the communion; that *priests*, *absolution*, and such terms be corrected; that the ring be not enforced, the service be abridged, church music moderated, and canonical Scriptures only read. 2. Concerning church ministers—Not to be admitted unless able for duties, and to preach diligently, and such as are already entered, and cannot preach to remove or pay a preacher; that non-residency be not permitted, that King Edward's statute for the lawfulness of ministers' marriage be revived, that ministers be not urged to subscribe but, according to law, to the Articles of Religion and the king's supremacy. 3. For church livings and maintenance—That *commendams* and pluralities be discontinued, and that impropriations be to some extent recovered. 4. For church discipline—That the discipline and excommunication may be administered according to Christ's own institution, or at least enormities redressed, as the issuing of excommunications by lay officials, and the too free use of them and of the *ex officio* oath. The official account of the conference to which this petition led was published

by Dr. Barlow, Dean of Chester, who, according to Fuller, 'set a sharp edge on his own, and a blunt one on his adversaries' weapons.' Drs. Reynolds and Sparkes complained that they were wronged by that relation, and Neal says that the author afterwards repented of it. Dr. Harris thinks the Puritans need not have complained so much, since, if he has not done justice to their arguments, he has abundantly made up for it by showing that their opponents were gross flatterers. None of their flatteries, however, was more gross than that of the author of this 'Sum and Substance of the Conference,' who, while omitting all the coarse jests and low buffooneries of the king, does not hesitate to say that in his abridgment of the proceedings the only wrong he has done 'is to his excellent Majesty, a syllable of whose admirable speeches it was pity to lose—his words, as they were uttered by him, being as Solomon speaketh, *like apples of gold with pictures of silver.*' Sir John Harrington has preserved some of these precious pictures, which may still be seen in *Nugæ Antiquæ*, vol. ii. p. 228, or in Spedding's *Bacon*, vol. iii. p. 127. The king's own account of it is that they had 'kept such a revel with the Puritans . . . as was never heard the like,' and that he had 'peppered them soundly.' Some still defend his jest about weak consciences, forgetting that though others than ministers were not called to subscribe, others than ministers were expected to observe the 'nocent ceremonies.' Some also suppose that they increased their demands, asking not only exemption from certain ceremonies, as in their petition, but the abolition of them; but this arises from not distinguishing between their demands, and the reasons they urged, when pressed to it, in support of these demands.

Besides the concessions mentioned on page 69 as made to them, there was one in regard to confirmation which has not attracted the notice it deserves, and which, when completed in 1662, nearly brought it to what Calvin had desired. It was only to be administered to those who had come to years of discretion, and who were prepared to take on themselves the vows made for them when baptized. Previously it might be administered to children as soon as they could say their catechism, and no promise or vow had been required of those receiving it. The addition made to the title of the absolution, to have brought out the king's idea, would have required to be 'or *declaration* of remission of sins,' not simply 'or remission of sins.'

The contest did not end with the discomfiture of the Puritans at

the Conference. It was only removed from Hampton Court to Westminster. One of the first steps taken by the House of Commons was to name a Committee to prepare bills for the redress of ecclesiastical grievances. The king deeply resented this, and through his influence the bills were rejected in the House of Lords. But the Commons followed up their bills by an 'outspoken address to the king,' in which they aver that their 'desires were of peace only and their device of unity.' Their aim, as Mr. Green says (vol. iii. p. 61), had been to put an end to the long-standing dissension among the ministers, and to preserve uniformity by the abandonment of a few ceremonies of small importance, by the redress of some ecclesiastical abuses, and by the establishment of an efficient training for a preaching clergy. If they had waived their right to deal with these matters during the old age of Elizabeth, they asserted it now: 'Let your Majesty be pleased to receive public information from your Commons in Parliament, as well of the abuses in the church as in the civil state and government. Your Majesty would be misinformed if any man should deliver that the Kings of England have any absolute power in themselves, either to alter religion or to make any laws concerning the same, otherwise than, as in temporal causes, by consent of Parliament.' Thus nobly did the English House of Commons range themselves on the side of the contemned ministers in the struggle which the ministers in Scotland had been left to maintain alone.

NOTE D, p. 87.

'Anticipating their high destiny and the sublime doctrines of liberty that would grow out of the principles on which their religious tenets were established, Robinson gave them a farewell breathing a freedom of opinion and an independence of authority such as then were hardly known in the world. . . . "When the ship was ready to carry us away," writes Edward Winslow, "the brethren that stayed at Leyden, having again solemnly sought the Lord with us and for us, feasted us that were to go, at our pastor's house, being large; where we refreshed ourselves, after tears, with singing of psalms, making joyful melody in our hearts, as well as with the voice, there being many of the congregation very expert in music; and indeed it was the sweetest melody that ever mine ears heard. After this they accompanied us to Delft-haven, where we went to embark, . . . and after prayer performed by our pastor,

when a flood of tears was poured, they accompanied us to the ship, but were not able to speak one to another for the abundance of sorrow to part." A prosperous wind soon wafts the vessel to Southampton, and in a fortnight the Mayflower and the Speedwell, freighted with the first colony of New England, leave Southampton for America.—Bancroft, vol. i. p. 307. Once and again they had to return through the faint-heartedness of the captain of the Speedwell, and, dismissing her, with numbers winnowed, 'the little band, not of resolute men only, but wives and children, a floating village, went on board the single ship, which was hired to convey them across the Atlantic.' Many attempts have been made to reproduce such memorable incidents in verse, none perhaps more interesting than the following, coming from the very time :—

In midst of all these woful stirs grave godly men sat musing,
How they their talents might improve to honour God in using.
Nine hundred leagues of roaring seas dishearten feeble parts,
Till cruel handling hasten on, and God doth strengthen hearts.
'Come,' quoth the husband, 'my dear wife, canst thou the seas endure,
With all our young and tender babes? Let 's put our faith in ure.'
With watery eyes the wife replies, 'What remedy remains?'
'Forsaking all for Christ his sake will prove the greatest gains.'
Thus pass the people to their ships. Some grieve they should go free,
But make them swear, and search them bare, and take what coin they see.
And, being once on ocean large, whose depths the earth wide sever,
Return no more, though winds them taught to end their course endeavour;
In unknown depths and pathless seas their nights and days they spend;
Midst stormy winds and mountain waves, long time no land they kenn'd:
At ship's mast doth Christ's pastor preach while waves, like prelate browed,
Would fling them from their pulpit place as not by them allowed;
The swelling surges raging come to stop their mouths with foam
For publishing of very truth that by God's word is known.
But Christ, as once, now says, 'Peace, ye waves, be still;'
For all their height they fall down flat, they must obey His will.
Long-looked-for land at last they eye, unknown, yet own they will,
To plant therein new colonies, wide wilderness to fill.

NOTE E, p. 92.

'Of all Charles's errors the most fatal to him was his misunderstanding of his own countrymen. They were loyal to the Crown, as they showed at Preston, and Dunbar, and Worcester. They were proud of seeing a prince of their own race on the English throne. As long as their religion was let alone, their lives and all that they had were at the disposal of their sovereign. But Charles chose to touch their allegiance to a still higher Sovereign,

and they became immovable as their own mountains. There is something humorous in the spectacle of an Archbishop Laud trying to teach such a people as this a better religion. He was the man who was to show Scotland how to say its prayers! No more memories of Knox and Melville; no more outpourings of the spirit and rash extempore addresses to the Almighty of ignorance and vanity; no more lay elders; no more General Assemblies. Scotland was to be once more decently ruled by bishops duly consecrated, the parish churches served by surpliced clerks, on whose heads the bishops' hands had rested. And there must be a liturgy and altars, and reverential music to generate correct "catholic" emotions, and canons of discipline and ecclesiastical courts to enforce them. . . In England, where the Church was composite, Laud had perhaps the letter of the law, or at least some show of law for himself. In Scotland he had no law at all, but when he heard how his liturgy had been received, he said merely that "he meant to be obeyed," and when he was told that he must back his orders there with 40,000 men, both he and the king thought it was both right and convenient that the 40,000 men should be raised and sent. To this intention the Scots replied with the ever-famous National Covenant, by which they declared "their sincere and unfeigned resolution, as they should answer to Jesus Christ in the great day, and under pain of God's everlasting wrath," to defend their national faith. The signing of the Covenant in Edinburgh on March 2, 1638, was perhaps the most remarkable scene in Scotland's remarkable history.'—*Edinburgh Review*, October 1882.

NOTE F, p. 102.

The following specimen of their barbarities has been recently brought under my notice:—

'Thomas Murray, minister of the Episcopal Church of Killelagh, was brutally massacred in the Irish Rebellion of 1641. It appears, by a petition presented by his widow to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland at St. Andrews, in 1642, that he was actually crucified on a tree; her two sons killed, and cut to pieces before her eyes; her own body frightfully cut and maimed in sundry parts; her tongue half cut out, and that she was kept in prison and inhumanly used by the rebels, from whom, at last, by God's merciful providence, she escaped, all which was testified

under the hands of the best nobles and councillors of the kingdom; and humbly praying them to extend their charity to her, which was granted.—*The Hamilton Manuscripts*, edited by Dr. Lowry, 1867, p. 35, note. See also, E 112, No. 24.

DESCRIPTION OF THE ASSEMBLY.[1]—Pp. 170, 171, 172.

The question is often asked, Is there any trustworthy engraving of the Assembly in session? and I am afraid it must be answered in the negative. Portraits of a number of the divines, arrayed as they were wont to appear in the pulpit, are still preserved, and there is a modern engraving professing to represent the Assembly in that stormy session when Nye made his famous speech against Presbytery. But it does not rest on any sure historical basis, nor give an accurate idea of the conclave as it really sat. It represents the divines as arrayed in gowns and as generally bareheaded, and in both these respects I think it is incorrect. Fuller tells us that Bishop Westfield and the episcopal divines, who appeared in their gowns and canonical habits, seemed the only nonconformists. Neal says that the most of the divines 'came not in their canonical habits, but chiefly in black coats [or cloaks] and bands, in imitation of the foreign Protestants.' The best aid therefore to a correct idea of the Assembly in session is probably furnished by the engraving of the French Synod prefixed to Vol. i. of Quick's *Synodicon Galliæ Reformatæ*, and by that prefixed to the account of the Dissenting Synod of Salter's Hall in 1719. In both, the divines are represented as wearing not the academic gown or the modern so-called Geneva one, but the old Geneva cloak, and as retaining not only their skull-caps, but their high-crowned hats when seated in the Assembly. I think it was so also at Westminster, in regard to the hat as well as the cloak, both because that was the practice of the House of Commons, to which in most things they conformed, and also because Neal expressly includes among their earliest rules the following: 'That all the members of the Assembly have liberty to be *covered* except the scribes.' To these some time after the same indulgence was granted, and on 17th June 1645 the following additional rule was adopted: 'That in case any member have occasion to be out of his place, that then he be *uncovered*'[2]

[1] It was on 21st September that the Assembly was authorised to remove to and at its last session in the following week that it 'adjourned to Hierusalem chamber Monday morning [2d October] 10 o'clock.'

[2] *Minutes of the Assembly*, p. 105.

—that is undoubtedly, take off his hat, not his skull-cap. In the satirical pamphlets of the period, there are various references to the dress of the Puritan ministers, especially (with a portrait) in that entitled *The Assembly Man:* 'His hands are not in his gloves, but his gloves in his hands. . . . His gown (I mean his cloak) reaches but his pockets. . . . His doublet and hose are of dark blue, a grain deeper than pure Coventry; but of late he's in black.' Their hair was generally cut close, according to a fashion now in vogue again, and the beard and moustache were often retained and carefully trimmed. The description applies chiefly to the younger men. The older members, I suppose, continued to have longer cloaks, and more flowing locks, and to wear the Elizabethan ruff rather than the broad band or falling collar. In E 95, No. 3, the following description is given of the Reformed minister: 'His habit shall be a high-crowned hat, a black leather [skull] cap, a sad medley cloak, and jerkin of the same, violet hose, and russet stockings.'

NOTE G, p. 191.

Besides the extracts from the Minutes given in the text, the following are the authorities which seem to me to warrant this view of the Assembly's attitude towards this question:—

1. *Jus Divinum Regiminis Ecclesiastici*, by sundry ministers of Christ within the City of London. 'The third argument for the divine right of the mere *ruling elder* shall be drawn from 1 Tim. v. 17: "Let the elders that rule well be counted worthy of double honour, especially they that labour in the word and doctrine." From which words we may thus argue for the divine right of the *ruling elder: Major*—Whatsoever officers in the church are, according to the word of Christ, styled elders, invested with rule in the church, approved of God in their rule, and yet distinct from all them that labour in the word and doctrine, they are the ruling elders in the church (which we inquire after), and that *jure divino*. *Minor*—But the officers mentioned in 1 Tim. v. 17 are, according to the word of Christ, styled elders, [are] invested with rule in the church, approved of God in their rule and yet distinct from all them that labour in the word and doctrine.' The detailed proofs and answers to exceptions extend to more than twenty pages.

2. *A Vindication of the Presbyterial Government and Ministry*, published by the ministers and elders met together in a Provincial

Assembly, November 2, 1649. 'The third text for the divine right of the *ruling elder* is 1 Tim. v. 17: "Let the elders that rule well," etc. . . . Now according to the grammatical construction, here are plainly held forth two sorts of elders, the one only ruling, and the other also labouring in word and doctrine. Give us leave to give you the true analysis of the words. 1. Here is a genus, a general, and that is elders. 2. Two distinct species or kinds of elders, *those that rule well*, and *those that labour in word and doctrine*. . . . 3. Here we have two participles, expressing these two kinds of elders—*ruling and labouring;* the first do only rule, the second do also labour in word and doctrine. 4. Here are two distinct articles distinctly annexed to these two participles οἱ προεστῶτες, οἱ κοπιῶντες, *they that rule, they that labour*. 5. Here is an eminent discretive particle set between these two kinds of elders, these two participles, these two articles evidently distinguishing the one from the other, viz., μάλιστα, *especially*.' The heads of the argument as well as the illustrations of the several heads, closely resemble some of the speeches made in the Assembly in 1643-4.

3. *A Model of Church Government*, by John Dury, one of the Assembly of Divines. '1. That *ruling elders* are officers in the church of God may be clearly gathered from Rom. xii. 8, 1 Tim. v. 17, and 1 Cor. xii. 28. 2. That they are officers distinct from other officers is also plain from the same places; chiefly from that of 1 Tim. v. 17, . . . for in [it] he doth mention two sorts of elders' (p. 19). See also *A Model of Church Government under the Gospel*, by a minister of London, approved by divers of his learned brethren: 'All elderships, consisting of preaching presbyters and other elders who do rule well, . . . are *jure divino*, 1 Tim. v. 17.'

4. *A Treatise of Ruling Elders*, by a minister of the Church of Scotland [James Guthrie, of Stirling], Edinburgh, 1652, reprinted 1699. 'The officers in the House of God, who in the Scriptures are called by the name of *elders*, are of several sorts. Preaching elders or ministers, teaching elders or doctors, and ruling or governing elders; all these three are oftentimes in the New Testament comprised under the general name of elder' (pp. 21, 22). Then, after reference to the mistake of those 'who, either out of ignorance or disdain, do call them lay elders, as if they were a part of the people only, and not to be reckoned among the officers of the Lord's House, whom the Popish church in their pride, and others following them, call the clergy' (p. 23), the author proceeds to treat of the institution of ruling elders, in which chapter,

after adducing other texts, he says: 'The third place of Scripture is 1 Tim. v. 17, . . . which text doth hold forth and distinguish two sorts of elders in the church, to whom the Lord Jesus hath committed the power of ruling; one sort who do also labour in the word and doctrine, to wit pastors and teachers; another sort who do only rule, . . . and these are the ruling elders of whom we speak' (p. 29).

5. Dickson's *Expositio Analytica omnium Apostolicarum Epistolarum*, Glasguæ, 1645. His comment on 1 Tim. v. 17 is: 'Horum presbyterorum duos facit ordines: alterum eorum qui laborant in sermone et doctrina quales sunt pastores et doctores, alterum eorum qui bene quidem præsunt, *i.e.* gubernandæ ecclesiæ in vita et moribus incumbunt et non laborant in sermone et doctrina, quales sunt seniores qui gubernatores vocantur, 1 Cor. xii. 2; Rom. xii. 8' (p. 534). This work was published in 1647, with recommendatory notices by the Prolocutor and Assessors, and the Scotch Commissioners to the Westminster Assembly.

6. *Wylie's Abridgment of Rutherfurd's Catechism.* 'Q. How is Christ's Kirk ruled at this time under the gospel? By his office-bearers, doctors that opens up the word, pastors that presses it upon the hearers, elders that *rules* in discipline, and deacons that cares for the poor.'

7. Rutherfurd's *Due Right of Presbyteries.* '1 Tim. v. 17. The elders who rule well are worthy of double honour, etc. This place speaketh clear for ruling elders' (p. 142). On p. 145 he gives, as he had done in one of his speeches in the Assembly, the same five reasons as are given above in No. 2 for so expounding this text, and enters into a long argument in defence of the last of these reasons. In his later work on the *Divine Right of Excommunication and Church Government*, he again (pp. 432, 434) expresses his adherence to this interpretation of the text, and refers to what he had previously said in support of it.

8. *CXI. Propositions concerning the Ministry and Government of the Church*, by George Gillespie. 'This ecclesiastical government, distinct from the civil, is from God committed, not to the whole body of the Church or congregation of the faithful, or to be exercised both by officers and people, but to the ministers of God's word, together with the elders which are joined with them for the care and government of the church.—1 Tim. v. 17.'

9. *Christian Concord or Agreement of the Associated Churches and Pastors of Worcestershire.* Baxter's own opinions are well known;

and therefore it is the stronger proof that there were those even in that district who held the presbyter theory of the elder's office, that he should have found it necessary to express himself in the following tolerant terms:—'It having been the custom of the church in the Apostles' day to have ordinarily many officers in a church, . . . we therefore judge it needful to use all lawful means to procure more ministers or elders than one in each church, even proportionally to the number of souls, and if not learned men and supported by the public maintenance, then less learned labouring at their callings, and taking private duties of the pastorate, and *as long as we agree that these elders are ordained church officers, and what shall be their work there need be no breach among us, though we determine not of their power in sacraments, and whether their office be the same with the teaching elders.* Whilst we agree in practice, we may leave men's several principles in such a difficult controverted point to their own judgment.' See also Hatch's *Bamp. Lect.*, pp. 54, 76.

NOTE H, p. 195.

'That the magistrate is not obliged to execute the decrees of the church without further examination, whether they be right or wrong, as the Papists teach that the magistrate is to execute the decrees of their Popish councils with a blind obedience . . . is clear. 1st. Because if, in hearing the word, all should follow the example of the men of Berea, . . . try whether that which concerneth their conscience be agreeable to the Scriptures or no, and accordingly receive or reject; so in all things of discipline, the magistrate is to try by the word whether he ought to add his sanction to those decrees which the church gives out for edification. . . . 2d. The magistrate and all men have a command to try all things, *ergo*, to try the decrees of the church. . . . 3d. We behoved [otherwise] to lay down this Popish ground, that the church cannot err in their decrees. . . . Whoever impute this to us who have suffered for nonconformity, and, upon this ground that synods can err, refused the ceremonies, are to consult with their own conscience whether this be not to make us appear disloyal and odious to magistracy in that which we never thought, far less presumed to teach and profess it to the world.'—Rutherfurd's *Divine Right of Church Government and Excommunication*, pp. 596, 597. Even more noteworthy are the utterances of Gillespie, when striving to vindicate

against the reasonings and gibes of the Erastians, that more free and independent government of the church from which they feared so many evils and oppressions. 'I dare confidently say,' he affirms, 'that, if comparisons be rightly made, presbyterial government is the most limited and least arbitrary government of any in the world.' And after entering into details to make good this affirmation as regards the Papal and Prelatical forms of government, he proceeds to maintain that Independents must needs be supposed to exercise much more arbitrary and unlimited power than the Presbyterians do, because they exempt individual congregations from all control and correction by superior courts, and because one of their three grand principles '*disclaimeth that binding of themselves for the future, unto their present judgment and practice, and avoucheth the keeping of this reserve to alter and retract.* By which it appeareth that their way will not suffer them to be so far . . . bounded within certain particular rules (I say not with others but even among themselves) as the Presbyterian way will admit of.' He denies that, in claiming a distinct government for the church, the Presbyterians meant to deprive the Christian magistrate of that power and authority in matters of religion which the word of God and the Confessions of the Reformed Churches recognised as belonging to him. On the contrary, he maintains that not only in extraordinary cases, 'when church-government doth degenerate into tyranny, ambition, and avarice,' or those who manage it make defection from the truth, the Christian magistrate may, and ought to 'do divers things in and for religion, and interpose his authority divers ways, so as doth not properly belong to his cognisance, decision, and administration ordinarily,' and in a well-constituted church ; but also that in ordinary cases he is free to act as his own conscience directs, in giving or refusing his sanction to the discipline of the church, and that if he is offended at any sentence given by its courts, they ought to be ready to give him an account of their proceedings, and by all means to endeavour to satisfy his conscience, or otherwise to be warned or rectified if themselves have erred.—Gillespie's *Aaron's Rod Blossoming, etc.*, Bk. ii., ch. iii.

NOTE I, p. 211.

Professor Masson has frankly admitted that the Church of England was more tolerant than the Church of Rome, and Scottish

Presbyterianism or Scottish Puritanism was more tolerant (though the reverse is usually asserted) than the Church of England prior to 1640; he might have added, prior to 1688, whatever may have been the *theoretical* sentiments of Jeremy Taylor. The ordinance against blasphemies and heresies, harsh and cruel as it seems to us, was not a tightening, but a relaxation, of the old law, and the restraint without law formerly practised, but put in temporary abeyance, by the abolition of the Court of High Commission, and of the office of bishop. Offenders were no longer to be punishable for opinions *held*, but for opinions *deliberately expressed*. They were not obliged to clear themselves by oath as in the Court of High Commission, but must be convicted by the testimony of two credible witnesses, or by their own voluntary confession. The charge must be prosecuted and proved in the civil courts within a limited time, and, as I take it, at least in graver cases, before a jury. Cromwell himself, when at the height of his power, deemed it necessary to set limits to toleration and the freedom of church courts; and even when the Toleration Act was passed at the Revolution it was so, not in general or latitudinarian terms, but to the definite and limited extent required to meet the cases of the Puritans, the Baptists, and the Quakers. King William III., though probably as wise a monarch as ever sat on the throne of Britain, gave his assent to an Act for suppressing blasphemy and profaneness, by which it was provided that if any persons having been educated in, or at any time having made profession of, the Christian religion within this realm, should by writing, printing, teaching, or advised speaking, deny any one of the Persons in the Holy Trinity to be God, or should assert or maintain there are more Gods than one, or should deny the Christian religion to be true, or the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament to be of divine authority, he should the first time be subject to severe legal disabilities, and the second should suffer imprisonment for three years. Tillotson's successor in the see of Canterbury wrote in support of these Acts and the king's injunctions. The melancholy words of Rutherfurd so often quoted, were but the echo of those of the judicious Hooker (Bk. viii.) that in matters of faith, 'law should set down a certainty which no man afterwards is to gainsay.' The more melancholy words of the Lancashire ministers, that such a toleration as the sectaries then demanded 'would be the putting of a sword into a madman's hand, a cup of poison into the hand of a child, a letting loose of madmen with firebrands

in their hands; an appointing of a city of refuge in men's consciences for the devil to fly to, a laying of a stumbling-block before the blind, a proclaiming liberty to the wolves to come into Christ's fold to prey upon the lambs,' etc., were but the rhetorical concentration of various utterances of the gentle Burroughs, cropping up here and there in his treatise on *Heart Divisions:* 'If there were a company of madmen running up and down the streets with knives and swords in their hands, . . . must we do nothing to restrain them? The devil must not be let alone though he get into men's consciences. God hath appointed no city of refuge for him; if he flee to men's consciences as Joab to the horns of the altar, he must be fetched from thence, or fallen upon there.' Nay, the more clear-headed Owen, in a sermon preached before Cromwell's Parliament in 1652, is found thus indoctrinating them: 'Know that error and falsehood have no right or title from God or man unto any privilege, protection, advantage, liberty, or any good thing you are entrusted withal: to dispose that unto a lie, which is the right of and due to truth, is to deal treacherously with Him by whom you are employed; all the tenderness and forbearance unto such persons as are infected with such abominations is solely upon a civil account, and that plea which they have for tranquillity whilst neither directly nor morally they are a disturbance unto others,'—that is, as even the Lancashire ministers admitted, they are not to be disturbed so long as they keep their opinions to themselves, but they have no right to propagate them at their pleasure.[1] So much of matters of opinion

[1] According to Baxter, Owen, Goodwin, Simpson, and Nye were chiefly concerned in drawing up the list of Fundamentals which the Parliament of 1654 wished to impose on all who claimed toleration. Neal (vol. iv. pp. 98-100) gives sixteen of them. The Journal of the House of Commons speaks of twenty, but inserts only the first—on Holy Scripture—which alone had been passed when Cromwell dissolved the Parliament, and in considerably longer form than the Committee had proposed:—

That the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments are the Word of God and the only rule of knowing him savingly and living unto him in all holiness and righteousness in which we must rest; which Scriptures whoso doth not believe, but, rejecting them, doth, instead thereof, betake himself to any other way of discovering the mind of God, cannot be saved.

That the Holy Scripture is that rule of knowing God and living unto Him, which whoso does not believe cannot be saved.

or belief. As to matters of practice, he continues: 'Know that in things of practice as of persuasion, that are impious and wicked either in themselves or in their natural and unconstrained consequences, the plea of conscience is an aggravation of the crime; if men's consciences are seared and themselves given up to a reprobate mind to do those things that are not convenient, there is no doubt but they ought to suffer such things as to such practices are assigned and appointed.' But perhaps the strangest of all the strange utterances on this subject is that contained in a pamphlet published at London in 1652, and entitled *The Key of True Policy or a Free Dispute concerning the conservation of lately obtained liberty.* It professes to be the production of a Scotchman, but apparently of one who had espoused Republican principles, who boldly adopts the line of argument which an able reviewer in our own day has attributed to the Presbyterians and the majority of the Long Parliament. It is thus he argues (p. 9): 'It is an old maxim in philosophy, *Sublata causa tollitur effectus.* And consequently such unprofitable and noisome members being put aside one way or other, it removeth the non-security and danger obtained liberty is exposed to. Will you tell me, is he not a desperate and unskilful physician who will take it on him to cure the body and not remove the cause of the disease? That verily is to build without a foundation. What madness is it to go about to secure purchased liberty, and not remove the cause of its non-security? Truly it is so much, as to keep fire in the bosom, and not to be burned, to touch pitch and not be defiled, to keep the thief in the house and the throat not to be cut, and to keep a viper in the bosom and not to be stinged. Oh! shall liberty be preserved as long as its enemies are free? No, verily. They will be still conspiring and taking crafty counsel against it. So long as the son of Jesse liveth they will never think themselves secure, and that their kingdom shall be established. And therefore, Saul-like, they will still fall a-persecuting David. Nay, let me tell you, *those become accessory to their own hurt and ruin, who would not destroy the destroyers of their liberties.* Thus they become negative cut-throats and burrios to themselves. But to prevent bondage and slavery, it is good, it is good to root out those who go about to destroy our liberty. Otherwise we abuse the power God and nature have conferred on us to maintain and defend our own liberties against our adversaries.' He then proceeds to offer his judgment in particulars as follows:—'1st. All malignant and formal Presby-

terian incendiaries should one way or other be rooted out if we mind to maintain our own liberties inviolable. This is evident from what is already said, for *they* are the very enemies by whom the Lord's people in the three nations only stand in hazard. They indeed are the *Canaanites* whom the Lord hath commissioned to destroy. They verily are the inhabitants of the land, and therefore must be rooted out. . . . They are bears robbed of their whelps, and therefore they will never be satisfied till they be destroyed. They are *Amalek* indeed, they lay in wait, while as the Lord's people in Britain came out of the spiritual Egypt from under the Episcopal and Malignant yoke, *And therefore their name deserveth to be rased from under heaven.* 2. Albeit all such should be rooted out and destroyed, yet not one and the same way. They should be dealt with according to their guilt. Some of them who are prime incendiaries and leading men should be finally cut off. Others again of them who are not so deep in the guilt, deserve not physically but politically to be cut off, *i.e.* (as Artaxerxes saith, Ezra v. 26) either by banishment or imprisonment, or confiscation of goods, according to their desert.' To the objection that this would make a pretty clean sweep in Scotland where such men were the more numerous party, and where few or none even of the 'godly' were for the English interest, and where their action could not be said to be *illegal* even when it was hostile, the author replies (p. 21): 'If the Parliament of England look not more to conscience and duty than quirks and law formality, they will be forced to condemn the best and weightiest of all their proceedings. I wonder if law-quirks taught a handful of godly men in the nation to turn a king off his throne, to cut off his head, to banish his son, to cut off the peers of the land, to turn out betrayers of their trusts and such like? I trow not; I believe duty only led them on to such things. Oh! shall not duty as yet lead them on to proceed against their and our implacable enemies? . . . Hath he not rented the kingdom from Saul for sparing Agag, and given it to them? Will they spare him too? No, I hope, as Samuel, they will hew him in pieces. The Lord put it in their hearts so to do.' This is the only pamphlet of the period in which I remember to have met with this famous simile. It proceeded not from sober-minded Puritan in time of peace, nor from maddened Covenanter in the day of sore distress, but from a fanatic sectary or rabid Protestor in the day of his triumph, and was adduced to encourage harsh measures, not against Papists and Prelatists, but against

the Presbyterians, his fellow-countrymen and fellow-covenanters. They, in his eyes, were the Canaanites, the Amalekites, the Ammonites, the Joab and Shimei, whom King Solomon was to cut off,—nay, apparently the Saul who spared Agag and the Agag who was spared rolled into one. No comment on this production could well be more cutting than that which I find written in an old hand on the copy of it now before me :—

> 'To hang all Scots, the doom is sad;
> Better it were to hang the dog that's mad.'

NOTE K, p. 257.

1. *Act of General Assembly approving the Propositions concerning Kirk Government and Ordination of Ministers*—'. . . And now the Assembly having thrice read and diligently examined the Propositions (hereunto annexed) concerning the officers, assemblies, and government of the Kirk, and concerning the ordination of ministers brought unto us as the results of the long and learned debates of the Assembly of Divines sitting at Westminster, and of the Treaty of Uniformity with the Commissioners of this Kirk there residing: after mature deliberation, . . . doth agree to and approve the Propositions aforementioned, touching Kirk government and ordination, and doth hereby authorise the Commissioners of this Assembly who are to meet at Edinburgh to agree to and conclude in the name of this Assemblie, an uniformity betwixt the Kirks of both kingdoms in the aforementioned particulars, so soon as the same shall be ratified without any substantial alteration by an Ordinance of the Honourable Houses of the Parliament of England.' The Assembly excepted from their Act, and reserved the liberty of further discussion, respecting the right of the doctor to administer the sacraments and the respective rights of presbyteries and people in the calling of ministers.

2. *Extract from Act approving of the Confession of Faith.*—'But lest our intention and meaning be in some particulars misunderstood, it is hereby expressly declared and provided that the not mentioning in this Confession the several sorts of ecclesiastical officers and assemblies shall be no prejudice to the truth of Christ in these particulars to be expressed fully in the *Directory* of government.'

3. *Ratification of the Propositions for Church Government, Ordination of Ministers, and of the Act of Assembly thereanent.*—'The Estates of Parliament now conveened in the second session of this first Triennial Parliament, by virtue of the last Act of the last Parliament, holden by His Majesty and three Estates *in Anno* 1641, after public reading of the following propositions concerning Kirk government and ordination of ministers, together with the Act of General Assembly approving the same, DO UNANIMOUSLY ratify and approve the said Propositions according to the said Act of General Assembly, to the which Act the Estates do hereby add the authority of Parliament, and ordaine the same to have the strength and force of a law in all time coming.' This Act was not contained in former collections of the Scotch Acts, nor printed till the original register of the Parliament of 1645 was discovered a short time ago, and printed in full in the last edition of vol. vi. of Thomson's Acts of the Scottish Parliament.

NOTE M (1), p. 333.—CALVIN'S RELATION TO ENGLISH REFORMERS.

A vast amount of unchristian temper and unseemly bitterness has been expended on the discussion of this question, and the reformer of Geneva in particular has been loaded with an amount of abuse and misrepresentation more than sufficient to save him for ever from the woe denounced against those of whom all men speak well. *Sed sis tua sorte contentus, O magne Calvine!* One must read the impassioned diatribes which were fashionable sixty or eighty years ago, to be able to understand the noble courage and candour of Bishop Horsley when he uttered the words, 'I hold the memory of Calvin in high veneration; his works have a place in my library, and in the study of the Scriptures he is one of the commentators I frequently consult.' And one cannot but rejoice that in our own day Dean Perowne has expressed himself in still stronger terms. It would require not a note or even a lecture, but a volume, to deal with these misrepresentations in detail, and that may safely be left to some true-hearted successor of Toplady, or Thomas Scott, or Bishop Waldegrave, who still deems it the highest commendation of his Church that she is one of the fairest daughters of the Reformation. All that I feel called to do is to put in a demurrer to such misrepresentations, and to state briefly two or three pleas in support of it. It is said the XVIIth Article *cannot* be meant of a *decretum*

absolutum of a predestination in the Augustinian or in the Calvinistic sense, but in that of the later Lutherans or Arminians, for it was with the Lutherans that the English Reformers were specially intimate, and from them, or through them, that some of their offices and several of their Articles came to them. One may leave on one side the offices with the remark that, so far as they came from the Nuremberg Liturgy, they came through the *Consultatio* of Herman, Archbishop of Cologne. In the preparation of that Bucer was quite as much concerned as Melanchthon, and Bucer was a predestinarian of the Augustinian school, who probably would have considered himself entitled to harmonise his views on baptismal regeneration with his views on predestination in the same way as Bishop Carleton and others did in the next century,[1] and Mr. Gorham in the nineteenth. If any parts of the Burial Service came through Lutheran formularies, they came from ancient Western sources, reaching back to a time when Augustinianism, which affirmed the perseverance of all the predestinate, but not of all the regenerate, was the prevailing faith of the Western Church. With respect to doctrinal formularies, even if one were to grant all that has been advanced as to the close connection of the English Reformers with the Lutherans and their less close connection with Calvin and the Swiss, it would still remain to be pointed out—*1st*, That at the time the Augsburg Confession was composed, Melanchthon, as well as Luther, was still Augustinian, and that good authorities in our own day affirm that Luther remained so to the last, as did Flacius Illyricus, Schnepff, Heshusius, and some others of his followers. *2d*, That Brentz, who had the chief hand in drawing up the Würtemberg Confession (which in several articles seems in 1563 to have been followed by the English), though not a pronounced Augustinian himself, framed it when doing his utmost to preserve a good understanding with the more moderate of the Reformed, especially with Bucer and Martyr, and with others, of their school still remaining at Strasburg; that his Confession was accepted by that free city, and that it was probably from thence, through Jewell, it found its way into England before 1563. John ab Ulmis had been employed to translate a Strasburg Confession into Latin for Cranmer. *3d*, That it is only in Articles as to which Lutherans and Reformed were agreed, that a real similarity can be traced between the Edwardian Articles and the Augsburg or the early German Confessions.

[1] *Examination of an Appeal to Cæsar*, pp. 96, 97.

None of these have an article on predestination, nor does any other Lutheran Confession, as Dr. Dörner tells us, have it. Nor can any such marked similarity be traced between this Article and any of the definitions of Melanchthon or of any Lutheran doctor of the Synergistic school. The only resemblance traceable is to certain expressions in the treatise of Luther on the Epistle to the Romans, and that, as already stated, was written while he was still a pronounced Augustinian, and teaches distinctly the Augustinian or predestinarian view.

But it cannot be granted that the intimacy between the English and the Swiss Reformers was only formed during the later Marian times. Had the English exiles been regarded as Lutherans when driven from their own country, they would have been received with open arms by their co-religionists in Germany. But the very reverse was the fact. The strict Lutherans afforded them no shelter, shewed them but little kindness, and were not appealed to in their differences. We do not find even the gentle Melanchthon specially exerting himself in their behalf, nor them resorting to him for counsel. Nor was it to him that the thoughts of those in prison in England turned. Hooper's recourse was still to his old friend Bullinger, and the one letter Cranmer is known to have written from his prison was addressed to his old and much trusted friend Martyr. Even in 1551-52, it was not to Melanchthon, but to Bullinger, that those who were exercised about predestination, and desired further counsel than the writings of Calvin and the teaching of Martyr supplied, were disposed to turn. Traheron or Trehern, tutor to the young Duke of Suffolk, the intimate friend and associate of Cheke, the young King's tutor, and, like him, a member of the sub-committee of the Ecclesiastical Commission, wrote to Bullinger on the question in the following terms:—'There are certain individuals here who lived among you some time, and who assert that you lean too much to Melanchthon's views. But the greater number among us (*plurimi*), of whom I own myself to be one, *embrace the opinion of John Calvin* as being perspicuous and most agreeable to holy Scripture.' Then after thanking God that Calvin's treatise against Pighius on this question had appeared at the very time when it had begun to be agitated among them, he adds:—'We confess that he has thrown much light upon the subject, or rather so handled it as that we have never before seen anything more learned or more plain.' Bullinger, some time before, had concluded with Calvin and the Genevese a

consensus on the subject of the sacraments, in the XVIth Article of which the topic of election was touched on, but, though it was so in the most guarded terms, its bearing was so obvious that Melanchthon is said '*confodisse eum articulum*' in the copy sent him. In the letter Bullinger sent to Traheron he states, even more decisively than in the *consensus*, that faith foreseen is not the cause, but the consequence of election, though still refusing to follow Calvin in his teaching on the subject of reprobation: 'Electionis et prædestinationis causa non est alia quam bona et justa Dei voluntas indebite salvantis electos debite autem damnantis . . reprobos.' 'Interim fidem ceu opus nostrum non constituimus causam electionis *quasi propter fidem quam in nobis prævidit Deus nos elegerit* sed gratiæ Dei tribuimus electionem et salutem . . . Etenim Paulus non dicit Deum elegisse nos quod crediturі eramus sed ut crederemus; unde et Augustinus sumpsisse videtur quod dixit, Non quia credimus ipse nos elegit sed ut credamus ne priores videamus ipsum elegisse.' This letter, written in March 1553, can hardly have arrived in England in time to be used in the framing of the XVIIth Article. It was not altogether to the mind of Traheron and those who thought with him, as appears by his reply, which, as well as his previous letter, is given at length among the Parker Society's original letters relating to the English Reformation (pp. 324-328). But it really concedes almost all that is maintained as dogma in the Confessions of the Reformed Churches, even those of them composed or approved by Calvin, though not all that he, Bucer, Beza, Martyr, and Knox deemed themselves warranted as private doctors to inculcate. So much importance was attached to it by Bullinger, that he had copies of it, evidently meant to be shown to others, sent to Hooper and to Martyr, who in reply informed him that, though not agreeing with him altogether, he had been especially on his guard in treating on that subject, 'lest men should cast all their faults and sins upon God, or derive from the will of God an excuse for their wickedness,' as would appear when his commentaries on the Romans were published, as he hoped they would be that same year. 'May God,' he adds, 'grant us all so to feel respecting predestination, that what ought to be the greatest consolation to believers may not become the painful subject of pernicious contention.'

Neither was Calvin himself so little known nor so lightly esteemed in England at that time as some have represented. He was in high repute with the young King, the Protector, and several

of the reforming nobles, with Cheke the King's tutor, and Traheron, as well as with Knox, Martyr, à Lasco, and the other foreigners then helping on the work in England. Bishop Coverdale, when in exile, had translated from the Latin his treatise on the Lord's Supper, which had commended his views on that subject to favour and acceptance, just as, we know from Traheron, his treatises on predestination were commending to favour his views on the only other subject then occasioning difference between the Lutherans and the Reformed. The treatise in answer to Pighius, which was published in the very beginning of 1552, is the one specially referred to by him, but that was not the first in which he had handled this subject, nor the first which had reached England. His commentary on the Romans, which was published in 1539, was well known, and in it he had treated on predestination in the same spirit as Martyr subsequently did. His *Institutions* were not unknown, and in the second edition of that work, issued in 1539, a distinct chapter was assigned to this subject, which in the fifth edition, issued in 1550, was further enlarged, and so much run on that, without the author's consent, it was published separately the same year. It is not unusual yet to represent Cranmer as by no means on the most friendly footing with Calvin, and but half-reluctantly inviting him to that great council of the chief Reformers which he was so desirous to assemble. It is also represented that the main, if not the only object that council was intended to accomplish, was to heal the divisions that had arisen among Protestants on the subject of the Lord's Supper. But the letters of the Primate, and none of them more decisively than his letter to Melanchthon himself, show that the Confession, or *consensus*, was meant to embrace the whole circle of Christian doctrine. Strype expressly includes the question of predestination among others. When obliged reluctantly to abandon or postpone his grander scheme, he intimated his intention to press on without further delay the lesser one of preparing such a confession for his own Church, and strenuously proceeding in the reformation of manners as well as doctrine. This he did in a letter to the much maligned Calvin, who had shown himself more ready to second his efforts for the council, as well as for a closer civil league among Protestant States, than either Bullinger or Melanchthon had ventured to do. This letter, so far as I know, has only been recovered in our own day, and printed by the Strasburg theologians who are re-editing the works of Calvin with such loving care. For English-

speaking churches, no more valuable addition has for long been made to our knowledge of the esteem in which he was really held by those who were engaged in the noble enterprise of reviving the life and restoring the purity of the English Church. Archbishop Laurence has much to say of his 'bold temerity,' and 'love of hypothesis,' as perhaps exceeding both his piety and his learning, and the entire want of community of spirit between him and the Reformers of the English Church, and what he has said many lesser men since have repeated with still greater bitterness and scorn. Here is how the honoured primate, who, more than any other, determined the character of that church, wrote to him in the autumn of 1552. No more noble or brotherly letter ever went to foreign Protestant from Lambeth Palace:—

'Et pietate et eruditione præstanti viro D. Joanni Calvino, amico suo dilecto.—Quod consilium meum laudas de conventu doctissimorum et optimorum virorum in Anglia habendo, ut posteris traderetur de reformatæ doctrinæ capitibus, juxta scripturæ normam consensus, et studium operamque tuam ad hoc institutum perficiendum alacri animo offers, recte tu quidem mea sententia judicasti, et ad Dei gloriam propagandam voluntatem te habere propensissimam non obscuris argumentis declarasti. Atque utimam daretur facultas ad effectum perducendi hoc quod ecclesiæ tam utile judicamus. Verum multa sunt quæ in animum meum inducunt hanc nostram deliberationem irritam fore: tum quod D. Philippus ad meas literas nihil hactenus rescripsit, tum quod D. Bullingerus respondet se vereri ne frustra de convocando concilio deliberemus hoc tempore, in quo Germania bello sic divexatur ut neque sibi neque D. Philippo consultum sit ecclesias suas relinquere. Quare hæc consultatio aut prorsus omittenda aut in aliud tempus magis opportunum differenda videtur. Interim nos ecclesiam Anglicam pro virili reformabimus dabimusque operam ut et dogmata et mores juxta sacrarum literarum regulam corrigantur. Dominus Jesus te gubernet et tueatur ad suam gloriam et ecclesiæ ædificationem. Vale. Tuus quantus est.—T. CANT.

'LAMBETHII, 4 *Octobris* 1552.'

Sir John Cheke's letter, of 22d May 1553, 'Homini doctissimo ac pientissimo et mecum multis de causis conjunctissimo,' is even more laudatory, and speaks of a 'conjunctio doctrinæ,' as well as of a 'societas humanitatis et ingenii.'

NOTE M (2), p. 336.

MARTYR'S STATEMENTS, ETC.	ANGLICAN ARTICLES OF 1553.
Nostra enim [sacramenta]. . . numero pauciora actu faciliora intellectu augustissima, observatu castissima et significatione præstantissima. — *Augustinus citatus in commentario Martyris*, p. 118.	Dominus Noster Jesus Christus sacramentis numero paucissimis observatu facillimis significatione præstantissimis societatem novi populi colligavit sicuti est baptismus et cœna Domini.
Multi satis habent si contemplati fuerint, etc. (*ut postea*). Nemo enim sumendo sacramenta gratiam ullam recipit quam fide non percipiat . . . neque vi, ut loquuntur, operis operati quicquam ex eis accedat (salutem afferant) Vox ea peregrina est nec auditur usquam in sacris literis (123).—Qui enim sacramenta percipit vel digné vel indigne accedit: si indigné nil habet nisi damnum et jacturam, si digne, igitur fide viva qua percipit representatam gratiam.—494.	Sacramenta non instituta sunt a Christo ut spectarentur aut circumferuntur, sed ut rite illis uteremur; et in his duntaxat qui digné percipiunt, salutarem habent effectum, idque non ex opere (ut quidam loquuntur) operato, quæ vox ut peregrina est et sacris literis ignota sic parit sensum minime pium, sed admodum superstitiosum: qui vero indigne percipiunt damnationem (ut inquit Paulus) sibi ipsis acquirunt.
Neque tantum sunt signa nostrarum actionum sed etiam promissionis et voluntatis Dei ejusque obsignationes. Et Spiritus Sanctus istis utitur ad animos nostros excitandos.—117.	Sacramenta per verbum Dei instituta non tantum sunt notæ professionis Christianorum sed certa quædam, potius testimonia et efficacia signa gratiæ atque bonæ in nos voluntatis Dei per quæ invisibiliter ipse in nobis operatur nostramque fidem in se non solum excitat verum etiam confirmat.
Sunt quidem et hi sacramentorum fines, ut notæ sint ac tesseræ Christianæ professionis et societatis sive fraternitatis . . . vera gratiæ suæ testimonia et sigilla ut per ea nobis gratiam suam testetur Deus, representet atque obsignet.—*Formula Consensus Tigurini.*	

Neque illi satis dicunt qui arbitrantur . . . cænam Domini signum tantum esse Christianæ benevolentiæ et officiorum mutuæ charitatis . . . caput et summam in hoc ponimus quod obsignet nobis Dei dona et promissiones quas ille offert fide apprehendendas (113), ut ibi mors Domini commemoraretur et communicantes fructum ejus perciperent et Christo conjungerentur (34) gratiam reconciliationem et remissionem peccatorum. Falluntur ergo illi qui putant transubstantiationem, etc. (*ut postea*).

Tollenda est quælibet localis præsentiæ imaginatio. Tametsi enim philosophice loquendo supra cœlos locus non est; quia tamen corpus Christi, ut fert humani corporis natura et modus, finitum est et cœlo ut loco continetur necesse est a nobis tanto locorum intervallo distare quanto cœlum abest a terra.—*Form. Cons. Tig.*

Non tamen sentiendam est corpus Christi tam late fundi quam late patet divinitas ejus. Illud enim ut humanæ naturæ conditio requirit, certo ac definito loco continetur qui est cœlum . . . ut articulus de ascensione fidem facit (350). Falluntur ergo illi qui putant vel transubstantiationem vel præsentiam Christi in Eucharistia quasi ex illius carne quam, ut illi volunt, realiter manducamus (realiter et corporaliter percipimus (306), æternam vitam hausturi sumus.—305.

Cæna Domini non est tantum signum mutuæ benevolentiæ Christianorum inter sese, verum potius est sacramentum nostræ per mortem Christi redemptionis. Atque adeo rite digne et cum fide sumentibus, panis quem frangimus est communicatio corporis Christi: similiter poculum benedictionis est communicatio sanguinis Christi. Panis et vini transubstantiatio in Eucharistia ex sacris literis probari non potest sed apertis scripturæ verbis adversatur et multarum superstitionum dedit occasionem.

Quum naturæ humanæ veritas requirat ut unius ejusdemque hominis corpus in multis locis simul esse non possit sed in uno aliquo et definito loco esse oporteat, idcirco Christi corpus in multis et diversis locis eodem tempore præsens esse non potest et quoniam ut tradunt sacræ literæ, Christus in cœlum fuit sublatus, et ibi usque ad finem seculi est permansurus non debet quisquam fidelium carnis ejus et sanguinis realem et corporalem (ut loquuntur) præsentiam in Eucharistia vel credere vel profiteri. Sacramentum Eucharistiæ ex institutione Christi non servabatur, conferebatur, elevabatur, nec adorabatur.

Elevatio, etc., non parvam occasionem idololatriæ præbent. (*Martyr in Ep. ad Cor. p.* 162). Qua in re multum peccatur hodie . . . satisque habent homines si contemplati fuerint genuflexerint atque adoraverint.

Sacramentum Eucharistiæ ex institutione Christi non servabatur, circumferebatur, elevabatur, nec adorabatur.

Ministri malitia non vitiat sacramenta, etc. (p. 118).

Ministrorum malitia non tollit efficaciam institutionum divinarum, etc.

Sacrificium unicum nostræ salutis perfectum est per mortem Christi Jesu servatoris nostri in ara crucis (492), una enim ejus mors satis fuit ad omnia peccata expianda.

De unicâ Christi oblatione in cruce perfecta. Oblatio Christi semel facta perfecta est redemptio pro omnibus peccatis totius mundi tum originalibus quam actualibus: neque præter illam unicam est ulla alia pro peccatis expiatio. Unde missarum sacrificia, quibus vulgo dicebatur, sacerdotem offerre Christum in remissionem pœnæ aut culpæ pro vivis et defunctis figmenta sunt et perniciosæ impostura.

Sacrifici qui illud sacrificium suis missis et superstitiosis et impiis susurris nobis applicent . . . Christum offerre pro aliis omnino commentum est (296).

NOTE TO PAGE 369.

THE first part of the following elegy on the older members of the Assembly is found appended to more than one funeral sermon. I give part of it from the funeral sermon on Vines, contained in E 870 :—

'That venerable Synod, which of late
Was made the object of men's scorn and hate,
(For want of copes and mitres, not of graces),
Are now called up, like Moses; and their faces,
When they return, shall shine. God sees it fit,
Such an Assembly should in glory sit.
The learned Twisse went first (it was his right),
Then holy Palmer, Burroughs, Love, Gouge, White,
Hill, Whitaker, grave Gataker, and Strong,
Perne, Marshall, Robinson, all gone along.
I have not named them half. Their only strife

Hath been (of late) who shall first part with life;
Those few, who yet survive, sick of this age,
Long to have done their parts and leave the stage.
Our English Luther, Vines, whose death I weep,
Stole away (and said nothing) in a sleep.
Sweet (like a swan) he preached that day he went,
And for his cordial took a sacrament;
Had it but been suspected he would die,
His people sure had stopped him with their cry.'

The elegy on Ussher in E 875, almost exceeds the bounds of legitimate laudation. I can find room only for a few lines :—

'This was the man so just, so stout, so sage,
The shame and glory of our sinful age.
How said I? *Man?* That epithet 's too mean.
Armagh was more; the miracle of men.
Could he be less, who was both learned and meek?
Could he be less, who self did never seek?
Could he be less, who knew no guile, no gall;
Wise as a serpent, yet a dove withal?
Could he be less, who knew no kind of pride,
And yet knew more than all the land beside?
His intellect scorned to be confined by Dover,
Bravely expatiating the whole world over,
Beyond the common *ne plus ultra*, he
(Like Drake ambitious of discovery),
Sailéd still on, bounded by no degree
On this side of universality,
Storing his country with more noble prize
Than that which in the Western climate lies;
America doth no such mines contain,
As those comprised in the Indies of his brain.

NOTE N, p. 377.

The full title of this remarkable book is, '*A Treatise of the Covenant of Grace: wherein the gradual breakings out of Gospel-grace from Adam to Christ are clearly discovered, the differences betwixt the Old and New Testament are laid open, divers errors of Arminians and others are confuted; the nature of uprightness, and the way of Christ in bringing the soul into communion with Himself: together with many other points, both doctrinally and practically profitable, are solidly handled.* By that faithful servant of Jesus Christ and minister of the Gospel JOHN BALL . . . London, 1645.' The following is the table of the contents of the several chapters :—I. *Of the first part.*—1. Of the signification of the word

Covenant; 2. Of the *Covenant* God made with man in the state of innocency; 3. Of the *Covenant* of Grace in general; 4. Of the *Covenant* of promise; 5. Of the *Covenant* of promise made with *Adam* immediately upon his fall; 6. Of the *Covenant* of grace as it was made and manifested to *Abraham*; 7. Of the *Covenant* of grace under *Moses* till the return of Israel from the Babylonish captivity; 8. A particular explication of the *Covenant* that God made with *Israel*, and what Moses brought to the further expressure of the Covenant of grace; 9. Of the *Covenant* that God made with *David*; 10. Of the *Covenant* that God made with *Israel* after the Babylonish captivity; 11. Of truth and uprightness. II. *Of the second part.*—Of the *New Testament* or *Covenant*, and how God hath revealed Himself herein; 2. Christ the Mediator of the *New Testament*, for whom He died and rose again; 3. How Christ hath fulfilled the office of Mediator, or how He is the Mediator of the *New Testament*; 4. How Christ doth bring His people into *Covenant* or fellowship with Himself; 5. How Christians answer to the call of Christ, and so come to have fellowship with Him.

NOTE, p. 391.—MILTON'S RELATION TO CALVINISM.

I have not ventured to do more than put it interrogatively. Some of the older editors of his great poem regard the passage quoted as evidence of the author's leaning to moderate Calvinism. But it is now known that before the end of his days he wrote a large treatise on theology in which he advocated opinions at variance with the sentiments of the great mass of the Puritans on a question of far greater importance. This work was not published till our own day, and its learned editor has not ventured to do more than to say that the opinions maintained in it on the decrees of God are opposed to supralapsarianism on the one hand and to Socinianism on the other. But I find it difficult to resist the conclusion that Milton, by the time he wrote that treatise, had bid adieu not only to supralapsarianism, but even to infralapsarianism in its most moderate form. There is good reason to believe, however, that he had abandoned his earlier creed very slowly and gradually, and before parting with Calvinism altogether, had taken refuge for a time in the more liberal school of Amyraut, Davenant, and Howe. It may be fairly questioned if he had finally

left this refuge when he wrote the *Paradise Lost*. At least in the passage I have quoted, and some others in the poem, there seems to me more affinity to the opinions of that school than of any other. The opinion, that while God has given sufficient grace to all, he gives peculiar grace to some who of His will are elect above the rest, seems akin to their teaching.

NOTE O, p. 424.

I intended to exhibit at length in this note the correspondences between the rules given in the Larger Catechism for the explication of the Divine Law, and those found in the earlier treatises of Perkins, Attersoll, Ball, and Ussher. I must refrain, however, from inserting these. Any one who will compare the rules as first inserted in the *Minutes of the Assembly* with the form in which they appear in the earlier treatises will see at a glance how closely the Westminster Divines followed in the wake of their predecessors.

NOTE, p. 368.—Early Editions of the Confession of Faith.

The first three impressions of the Confession, as stated on the above page, were meant for the private use of the members of the English Parliament,[1] and the Assembly of Divines, and copies of them are still to be found in the British Museum (E 366 (?), E 368, E 516). From the third impression, but with certain variations preserved in most Scottish editions, 300 copies were reprinted in Edinburgh for the use of the members of the Scottish Assembly of 1647 (St. Andrews University Library, and in other libraries in Scotland). After the Confession was adopted by that Assembly, one edition appears to have been published before the close of 1647 (E 418, No. 12). A copy of this and of the London edition No. 3 is in the Advocates' Library at Edinburgh. In the same year the Confession, in the form approved by the English Houses, was published at London with the title *Articles of Christian Religion*, etc., as on p. 368. Principal Lee seems to have doubted if it was ever published in this form, but copies exist both in the British Museum (116 f, 19, E 449, T. $\frac{1}{11}^{3}$) and in the Bodleian; and another copy has recently been offered for sale in London.

[1] In E 388, No. 6, it is expressly stated that 'the members subscribed their names to the receipt' of their copies.

These are all in *quarto*. Another edition in octavo or 12mo was published at Edinburgh in 1648, with the following title: '*The Humble Advice of the Assembly of Divines now by authority of Parliament sitting at Westminster concerning* (1) *a Confession of Faith*, (2) *a Larger Catechism*, (3) *a Shorter Catechism*. Presented by them lately to both Houses of Parliament' (3505 bb, Brit. Mus.) It was probably from one of the Scottish editions, that those published by Bostock at London in the same year were taken. They are—*1st*, '*The Humble Advice of the Assembly of Divines*, etc. [as in No. 3, above], *Printed for Robert Bostock* at the King's Head, Paul's Churchyard 1648' (116 f, 20). At the end it has '*Imprimatur James Crawford, December* 7, 1647.' *2nd, The Confession of Faith, and Catechisms agreed upon by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster to be a part of uniformity in religion, between the Churches of Christ in the Three Kingdoms*. London, Printed for R. B. etc. [as above], 1648.' This is accounted the first English edition. The copy in the British Museum is from the library of the late Duke of Sussex, and bears the press mark 1412 a, 13. Another copy, bearing the press mark E 1419, has the Propositions concerning Church Government appended, and seems to have been the edition which brought him into trouble with the House of Commons (see their *Journals* under date 6th August 1649). I suppose it was from the first of these editions of Bostock that a German translation was made in the same year. Its title is: '*Demüthiger Bericht der versammelten und ietzund aus macht und Befehl des Parlaments zu Westmünster sitzenden Lehrern der heilegen Schrifft belangende, ein Glaubens Bekenntniss beyden häusern des Parlaments neulich überreichet, im Jahr nach Christi Gebürt* 1648, *8vo*.' A copy of this edition, we learn from the Appendix to Niemeyer's *Collectio Confessionum*, is preserved in the Royal Library at Berlin. It is remarkable as being the first edition in which the Scripture proofs are inserted at length, instead of being merely indicated in the margin. The preface contains a very notable testimony to the high regard in which the divines of Britain and their work were held by their brethren in Germany, who also had been called to suffer for their faithful attachment to the doctrines of the Reformation. They speak of the Confession as, 'ein Tractätlein reich in allen Stücken Göttlicher Weisheit und Lehre, fast von Wort zu Wort aus heiliger Schrifft . . abgefasst, und ist ein kurtzer Begriff des heilsamen Worte an deren Fürbild dieselbe Engländische Kirche nach abgeworffenen Joche

Bäbstischer Menschen-satzungen und Haupt-irrthümen bis daher beständig gehalten und annoch halten thut. . . Siehe, so stehet doch der Leuchter dieser so lehr und glauben-reicher Kirchen, durch Gottes guade unbeweglich und leuchtet auf demselben in diesem wollgegründetem Glaubens-bekenntniss das Licht der Wahrheit . . hell und klar herfür, glaübigen hertzen zum Trost und Versicherung.' Possibly a Dutch edition may have been published about the same time, and in 1649 a rare and much prized edition in English issued from the Elzevir press. Several editions in 12mo or 18mo were published in London and Edinburgh between 1650 and 1655, (3504 a, B. M. etc.), as were also two Latin editions in small 8vo at Cambridge in 1656 and 1659, and others of smaller size at Glasgow in 1670, and at Edinburgh in 1660, 1680, and 1694.[1] In 1658 there issued from the London press what is termed the second English edition of the Confession, a large and neatly printed quarto, with the Scripture proofs inserted at length, and the emphatic parts of them in a different letter. A copy, with the press mark E 757, is in the British Museum, but it is by no means a rare edition. An edition in 12mo was published at London in 1660 (3505 aa, Brit. Mus.). The third (so called) English edition, is a small octavo, published at London in 1688. The fifth, bearing the date of 1717, is a large octavo, and perhaps the most handsomely printed of all these early editions of the Confession. After the Revolution, editions in 12mo, without the proofs printed at length, were published in Scotland in 1688-9 and 1690, and in the latter year one in folio for the use of church courts, which, like the copy engrossed in the records of the Scottish Parliament in the same year, does not contain the proofs either in their abbreviated or lengthened form. The editions of later date need not be specified, with the exception of the beautiful octavo forming vol. i. of Dunlop's *Collection of Confessions*, etc., and published at Edinburgh in 1719, with a memorable preface in defence of Confessions of Faith.

The Independents' recension of the Confession was published in 1659, with the title, *A Declaration of the Faith and Order owned and practised in the Congregational Churches in England.* It does not differ materially from the recension of the Parliament save in the insertion of a chapter (xx.) on the Gospel and the extent of the grace thereof. This will appear to most Calvinists now-a-days a less happy statement than that sanctioned by the Westminster

[1] It was reprinted in Glasgow in 1674.

Assembly in their Larger Catechism, in answer to the question, 'How is the grace of God manifested in the second Covenant?' The Baptist recension was published in 1677, and again in 1688, under the title, *A Confession of Faith, put forth by the Elders and Brethren of many congregations of Christians (baptized upon profession of their faith) in London and the country, with an Appendix concerning Baptism.* It follows mainly the Independent recension, but seems to me to show traces of the moderating influence of Bunyan. The first editions of the Catechism are in E 411, 416.

NOTE (Additional), p. 369.—SUBSCRIPTION TO THE CONFESSION.

I have said elsewhere that the Westminster Divines, from their earnest desire to form one comprehensive Church, did not require subscription to their Directories for Public Worship and for Church Government, nor exact conformity to their minute details, as Laud had done to those of the Prayer-Book and Canons. It may be doubted if the English section of them meant to require more for their Confession of Faith than that it should be (like the Irish Articles) the norm of public teaching. They felt with Baxter that 'there is a singular use for a full body of theology or a profession concluded on by such reverend assemblies, that the younger ministers may be taught by it, and the reverence of it may restrain them from rash contradicting it; and there is a necessity of exercising power in ministerial assemblies for the actual restraint of such as shall teach things intolerably unsound, and all ministers should be there accountable for their doctrine.' Such a full body of theology in a non-liturgical Church was essential as a guide in prayer as well as in preaching, and its authority as the norm of both was the least restriction that could be imposed if reasonable soundness was to be maintained, and due security given to the congregations that the liberty allowed in the devotional services should not degenerate into licence. Probably this was all that the majority of the English divines were disposed to insist on. At any rate a sentence of Tuckney often quoted, seems to point in that direction. 'In the Assembly I gave my vote with others that the Confession of Faith, put out by authority, should not be either required to be sworn or subscribed to, . . . but only so as not to be publicly preached or written against.' I have not come on any

clear trace of this vote in the *Minutes of the Assembly*, but possibly it occurred on or soon after 26th November 1646, when the Confession was completed, and about to be sent up to the Houses, and when it is recorded that 'Mr. Nye, Mr. Carter junior, and Mr. Greenhill enter their dissent to the sending up of the Confession of Faith in order to the Preface,' and is ordered that 'before the Confession of Faith be sent up the Preface shall be debated and prepared to be sent up with it, *if any be made.*' But so far as appears from the Minutes none was debated or sent up.

The Church of Scotland, while agreeing with the English Divines as to the Directory of Public Worship, and Form of Church Government, has always required her ministers to regard the Confession of Faith as something more than the norm of teaching to which in their public ministrations they were to conform, and by the Act of the Scottish Parliament in 1693 she was sufficiently authorised to require more than this, including at least personal acceptance of its main doctrines, and of the sum and substance of the Reformed faith, as set forth in it.

Writing from recollection of an examination of the Minutes of the Kirk-session of St. Andrews twenty years ago, and wishing to err on the safe side, I had said that the celebration of the Lord's Supper was discontinued for more than a year. Within the last few days I have had an opportunity of re-examining the Minutes, which are now in the Register House at Edinburgh, and am sorry to find that, at p. 236, I have so far understated the facts of the case. The Lord's Supper was not administered there between June 1650 and August 1656. Again and again in 1653 and 1654 'the four ministers' were 'seriously recommended' and 'airnestly requeisted' by the elders to confer together how this might be remedied, and, after it was begun to be again administered in the burghs, they were assured that 'the people heir are much greived y^{t} they are so long depryved of that comfortable ordinance,' but it was not till August 1656 that they resumed the dispensation of it.

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